

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

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NOVEMBER, 1866.

ART. I.—PROGRESS OF AMERICAN COMMERCE.

PART V.—OUR COMMERCE DURING AND SUBSEQUENT TO THE WAR OF 1812-15, AND
UNTIL THE ADOPTION OF THE TARIFF OF 1832.*

"Commerce is King."—*Carlyle.*

WE have in previous papers discussed the origin, influences and history of commerce from the earliest times, the origin of American commerce and its extent during the Colonial period, the commerce of the States under the Confederation, and again until the war of 1812, and will divide what remains of this subject into several chapters, which will treat, *first*, of the commerce of the country from the war until the year 1832; *second*, from that period to the peace of 1865; *third*, of our tariff system; *fourth*, *fifth*, &c., as far as occasion may require, of our commerce with the several great powers of Europe, interspersing the whole with comparative and other statistics which will show the relative status of our own and other countries in regard to commerce.

It cannot be denied that commerce is the great civilizer of the world, and the great power, next to Christianity, which holds in check the ambition and passions of nations. It develops agriculture and manufactures; stimulates the construction of railroads and canals; increases population by affording it employment; promotes the growth of great cities; stimulates the arts, and does everything to promote the brotherhood of mankind! Without it our great forests and great prairies would have remained in wilderness; for unless the products of man

* In the course of the present series of papers, the author has sometimes adopted the language used by himself on previous occasions, and while discussing other questions. If the reader shall discover some of these passages in the Cyclopædia of Commerce, by Mr. Homans, he will take notice that they were borrowed from us by that editor, who makes the acknowledgment once for all in his preface.

and man be brought together in barter, indigence, barbarism and social declension are unavoidable. Trade is an *instinct* of the animal man, and, unless there be opportunity for its indulgence, he sinks to the level of the other animals. Well has it then been said to be the "Golden Girdle of the Globe;" and, referring to its achievements, the poet has beautifully declared:

"Her daughters have their dowers
From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless East
Pours in her lap all gems in sparkling showers."

During the war, the foreign exports of the country declined from an average of about \$80,000,000 per annum, at the beginning of the century, to \$38,527,236 in 1811; 27,855,997 in 1813, and \$6,927,441 in 1814. The exports consisted of ashes, beef and pork, flour, fish, Indian corn, flax-seed, rice, tobacco, tar, pitch, rosin, turpentine and wheat. The average export between 1810 and 1814 was, of

Flour	1,039,092 bbls.
Corn	1,451,920 bushels.
Wheat	115,365 do.
Tobacco	31,140 hhds.
Beef and Pork	58,000 barrels.

By the first article of the Treaty of Peace, 3d July, 1815, reciprocal liberty of commerce was agreed upon between the territories of the United States of America and all the territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe.

The first steamship sailed from the United States for Europe in May, 1819. Six years earlier, the first steamer was enrolled and licensed on the Mississippi. In 1822, ninety-eight such vessels were enrolled at New Orleans, of an aggregate of 18,000 tons. The Arkansas River had already been ascended more than 500 miles by steamers.

On the 1st of October, 1823, the whole line of the famous De Witt Clinton Canal, which did so much to make New York what she is, was prepared for the reception of water.

The value of dried and pickled fish exported from the United States ranged from about half a million to a million of dollars between 1812 and 1832. In whale oil and candles the increase was from about \$200,000 to \$1,500,000.

	Lumber.	Naval Stores.	Ashes.	Furs and Skins.	Ginseng.	Bark & Dyes.
1812..	\$1,638,000	490,000	333,000	123,000	10,000	107,000
1815..	1,835,000	455,000	565,000	409,000	10,000	336,000
1820..	3,203,000	292,000	952,000	595,000	174,000	108,000
1825..	1,717,571	463,897	1,992,381	529,692	144,599	93,809
1832..	2,196,717	476,291	930,398	691,909	99,545	62,944

The export in value of wheat and flour averaged, during the war, thirteen millions of dollars annually, but immediately afterwards declined one-half, except for the years 1817 and

1818, when it reached an average of fourteen millions. From that time until 1833 the average was about \$5,000,000. The rice trade, on the other hand, remained nearly stationary, the exports of 1815 and 1833 being the same, to wit, \$2,774,418. The export of Indian corn in the same time fell off on the average about one-half, viz., from \$2,000,000 to less than \$1,000,000. The whole agricultural export was:

1812	\$17,797,000
1815	11,234,000
1820	8,401,000
1825	7,526,718
1831	13,997,492
1832	8,352,494

The exports, produce of animals slaughtered, rose from \$1,657,000 in 1812, to an average of \$2,500,000 from 1821 to 1833. The tobacco trade showed exports, 1812, \$1,514,108; 1832, \$599,769. In the same time cotton rose from \$3,080,086 to \$36,191,185, of which Great Britain took \$26,253,205; our manufacturing exports rose from \$1,355,000 to \$6,923,922.

The following table will be very interesting, in comparison with those of subsequent years, showing as it does the articles in detail which were exported in 1832:

EXPORTS UNITED STATES, 1832.

Soap and tallow candles.....	\$701,184	Bags, and all manufactures of....	2,635
Leather, boots, and shoes.....	277,388	Wearing apparel.....	60,908
Household furniture.....	169,683	Combs and buttons.....	194,305
Coaches and other carriages.....	45,277	Brushes.....	4,754
Hats.....	310,912	Billiard tables.....	1,310
Saddlery.....	29,572	Umbrellas and parasols.....	20,361
Wax.....	62,444	Leather and morocco skins, not sold	
Spirits from grain, beer, ale & porter	127,593	per pound.....	42,565
Snuff and tobacco.....	295,771	Printing presses and type.....	22,558
Lead.....	4,433	Musical instruments.....	4,952
Linseed oil and spirits of turpentine.	33,004	Books and maps.....	29,892
Cordage.....	13,563	Paper and other stationery.....	64,847
Iron, pig, bar, and nails.....	65,979	Paints and varnish.....	21,611
castings.....	26,629	Vinegar.....	4,677
manufactures of.....	130,222	Earthen and stone ware.....	6,333
Spirits from molasses.....	33,221	Fire-engines and apparatus.....	7,753
Sugar, refined.....	74,673	Manufactures of.....	
Chocolate.....	2,255	Glass.....	106,855
Gunpowder.....	96,023	Tin.....	3,157
Copper and brass.....	105,774	Pewter and lead.....	933
Medicinal drugs.....	180,235	Marble and stone.....	3,455
	2,730,833	Gold and silver, and gold leaf.....	653
Cotton, piece goods:		Gold and silver coin.....	1,410,941
Printed or colored...\$104,570		Artificial flowers and jewelry.....	14,892
White.....1,052,591		Molasses.....	2,493
Nankeens.....841		Trunks.....	5,314
Twist, yarn, & thread 12,618		Brick and lime.....	3,592
All other manufs of 58,854		Domestic salt.....	27,914
	1,229,574		3,253,674
Flax and hemp:		Uncertain.....	477,967
Cloth and thread.....1,570			\$6,461,773

The imports, from 1815 to 1817 inclusive, were classed as those paying duty *ad valorem* at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., 15 per cent., 20 per cent., 25 per cent., 30 per cent., $33\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and 40 per

cent. Those which paid 15 per cent. in 1817 were one-third of the whole; another third paid 25 per cent. The import of the articles named was as follows:

IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES.

Species of Merchandise.		1815.	1816.	1817.
Wines, Madeira,	gallons	164,819	314,891	186,108
Burgundy, &c.	do	3,619	18,926	8,583
Sherry and St. Lucar	do	29,508	283,954	89,384
All other	do	1,083,819	3,020,077	1,461,408
Spirits from grain	do	517,199	607,712	274,325
Other materials,	do	8,512,718	8,903,155	4,418,129
Teas, Bohea,	pounds	115,155	419,155	446,456
Sonchong, &c.	do	1,103,892	714,551	2,143,667
Imperial, &c.	do	997,804	26,279	899,277
Hyson and Young Hyson,	do	181,040	506,176	2,100,511
Hyson skin, &c.	do	997,804	1,434,518	1,956,435
Sugar, Brown,	do	41,331,226	48,566,685	84,628,188
White	do	8,606,260	6,375,590	8,373,791
Coffee,	do	19,596,577	28,976,119	31,318,064
Molasses,	gallons	4,752,642	8,494,248	11,489,948
Salt	bushels	2,020,131	2,854,821	2,879,538
All other articles				

For the year 1832, the following table will show the detailed commerce of the United States with all foreign countries. Our imports from Britain and her colonies and dependencies made up nearly one-half of the whole import. The table will be interesting for comparison under other divisions of our subject.

COUNTRIES.	VALUE OF IMPORTS.	VALUE OF EXPORTS.		
		Domestic produce.	Foreign produce.	Total.
Russia	3,251,852	121,114	461,563	582,662
Prussia	27,927	11,116	.....	11,116
Sweden and Norway	1,097,394	214,648	152,365	366,413
Swedish West Indies	53,410	141,349	7,478	148,737
Denmark	63,842	181,605	320,115	501,720
Dutch West Indies	1,119,366	1,393,490	292,341	1,675,831
Netherlands	1,360,668	2,232,792	2,870,490	5,103,282
Dutch West Indies and American Colonies ..	828,583	857,520	46,644	404,164
Dutch East Indies	665,974	24,516	508,504	523,020
England	34,848,562	26,632,063	2,875,187	29,507,250
Scotland	1,580,812	1,125,898	30,864	1,146,762
Ireland	491,891	152,913	4,115	157,028
Guernsey, Jersey, etc.	534	3,700	.....	3,700
Gibraltar	279,858	428,833	185,074	613,907
British East Indies	2,538,998	189,218	839,235	528,453
British West Indies	1,422,267	1,655,448	33,928	1,689,276
Newfoundland, etc. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
British American Colonies	1,229,526	3,569,302	45,063	3,614,385
Other British Colonies	2,551	7,840	.....	7,840
Hanse Towns	2,865,096	2,435,542	1,652,670	4,088,212
France on the Atlantic	10,981,983	9,093,435	1,536,771	10,565,206
France on the Mediterranean	1,248,775	914,091	1,140,376	2,054,467
French West Indies and American Colonies ..	573,837	608,793	19,182	624,975
Other French African Ports .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hayti	2,058,386	1,248,510	425,493	1,669,008
Spain on the Atlantic	677,483	802,584	44,681	847,265
Spain on the Mediterranean	740,701	156,864	1,054	187,918
Teneriffe and the other Canaries	154,897	14,567	7,851	22,418
Manilla, and the Philippine Islands	832,280	20,906	113,414	134,320
Cuba	7,068,857	3,681,397	1,680,754	5,312,151
Other Spanish West Indies	1,889,182	922,550	72,552	995,111
Portugal	128,816	28,262	800	28,562
Madeira	228,318	145,667	929	146,596
Fayal, and the other Azores	21,682	23,402	11,863	34,765
Cape de Verd Islands	87,706	66,558	19,707	86,295
Other Portuguese African Ports	23,742
Italy	1,619,795	178,507	509,066	687,563

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Italy.....	156,617	8,088	8,088
Trieste, and other Austrian Adriatic Ports.....	362,027	199,911	936,775	1,136,686
Turkey, Levant, and Egypt.....	923,629	64,723	681,886	746,608
Mexico.....	4,293,954	845,777	2,621,764	3,467,541
Central Republic of America.....	295,316	189,206	196,161	333,807
Colombia.....	1,439,182	406,887	710,167	1,117,024
Honduras, Campeachy, etc.	84,162	60,459	17,397	62,856
Brazil.....	3,890,845	1,282,077	822,717	2,064,794
Argentine Republic.....	1,560,171	464,632	458,408	923,040
Chilapine Republic.....	.....	3,325	.....	3,325
Chili.....	504,628	579,370	641,749	1,221,119
Peru.....	720,093	7,126	10,894	17,960
South America, generally.....	.....	41,302	.....	41,302
Cape of Good Hope.....	12,015	.....	.....	.....
China.....	5,944,907	386,162	924,860	1,260,532
Arabic.....	24,025	.....	.....	.....
Asia, generally.....	111,180	42,893	469,459	512,337
East India, generally.....	.....	356,446	6,593	562,954
West India, generally.....	12,740	174,182	7,411	181,598
Europe, generally.....	.....	391,592	257,422	106,549
Africa, generally.....	15,175	30,096	12,588	42,984
South Sea.....	.....	920	.....	920
Sandwich Islands.....	.....	46,073	50,526	96,604
North-West Coast of America.....	.....	5,023	.....	5,023
Uncertain.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	101,029,266	63,187,470	24,089,478	87,176,943

We close statistics with two tables, which show the value of the entire imports and exports of the United States from 1812 to 1833, and also the commerce of the several States for the same period :

	IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.		Total.
	Total.	Retained for home consumption.	Domestic.	Foreign.	
1813	22,005,000	19,157,155	23,008,152	2,547,845	27,555,997
1814	12,965,000	13,819,831	6,782,979	145,169	6,927,441
1815	113,041,374	106,457,925	43,974,408	6,588,550	50,562,758
1816	147,109,000	129,964,444	64,781,896	17,188,556	81,920,452
1817	99,350,000	79,591,981	68,818,500	19,358,000	87,671,509
1818	121,750,000	102,333,304	78,554,487	19,426,696	98,231,133
1819	87,125,000	67,950,317	50,976,828	19,165,683	70,142,521
1820	74,450,000	56,441,971	51,683,640	18,008,029	69,691,679
1821	62,585,724	41,293,836	48,671,894	21,302,488	64,974,382
1822	83,241,511	60,955,309	49,574,185	22,286,202	72,160,387
1823	77,579,267	50,085,645	47,155,403	27,653,622	74,699,030
1824	80,549,007	55,211,859	50,649,500	25,387,157	75,996,657
1825	96,340,075	63,749,432	66,944,745	32,590,643	99,535,388
1826	84,974,477	56,484,865	53,055,710	24,589,612	77,595,322
1827	79,484,063	56,078,982	58,921,801	23,408,136	82,334,937
1828	88,509,324	66,914,307	59,609,669	21,595,017	73,264,686
1829	74,492,527	57,834,049	55,700,193	16,658,478	72,858,671
1830	70,876,920	56,489,441	50,462,029	14,387,479	73,849,508
1831	108,191,124	83,157,593	61,277,057	20,083,526	81,310,583
1832	101,029,266	76,959,793	63,187,470	24,089,478	87,176,943

FOREIGN EXPORTS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

	Mass.	N. Y.	Tenn.	Md.	Virg.	N. C.	Ga.	La.
1813	1907923	8194494	3577117	3787065	1819722	2963184	1094596	1045133
1814	1133799	203670	.....	248434	17581	737899	2183121	387191
1815	3280003	10673373	4309319	5036601	6676976	6675129	4172319	5102610
1816	10136439	19090031	7196246	7338767	4212860	10649409	7511929	3602948
1817	11927597	18707423	8735302	9639300	5621422	10372703	6790714	9054812
1818	11990156	17672861	6739402	7576734	7016346	11440963	11132096	12924869
1819	11324913	13567374	6883708	5902316	4392301	8256740	6310474	9768733
1820	11008922	13163244	5743549	6693361	4577957	8062340	6394623	7396137
1821	13484691	13162917	7391767	3830394	3079299	7206511	6014310	7372172
1822	12508325	17100482	9647802	4536796	3217569	7260320	5484879	7970645
1823	13683229	19038990	9617190	5036228	4066788	6896814	4293566	7179072
1824	10434328	22897134	9364893	4863233	3277364	6034082	4623982	7928820
1825	11432367	35029281	11969901	4301904	4183350	11056742	4222383	12352
1826	10088862	21947791	8331722	4010749	4596732	7554036	4368364	10284380
1827	10424303	23834137	7575333	4516406	4657908	8332561	4261533	11728997
1828	9025785	22777649	6051480	4334422	3340185	6550712	3104423	11947400
1829	8254937	20119011	4089335	4804465	3767431	8178308	4981376	1236606
1830	7213194	19697983	4291793	3791432	4791644	7627021	5386626	1348692
1831	7733763	25535144	5513713	4318847	4150475	6375201	3359813	1676199
1832	11993768	26009943	3516095	4199318	4510630	7752721	5315893	16336930

The average exports of the other States were, North Carolina, \$493,270; Connecticut, \$498,728; Rhode Island, \$609,820, District of Columbia, \$816,310; Delaware, \$51,117. The exports of Alabama, which were in 1818 less than \$100,000, in 1824 reached \$460,000; in 1829, \$1,693,958; in 1832, \$2,736,387.

FOREIGN IMPORTS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

	Mass.	N. Y.	Penn.	Md.	Virg.	S. C.	Geo.	La.
1821	14626732	23629246	8158922	4070842	1070490	3067113	1002648	3379717
1822	10337320	35445638	11074170	4792486	861163	3223566	963501	3817238
1823	17607169	29421349	13696770	4946179	681010	2419101	670705	4283225
1824	15378758	36113729	11965331	4551412	629787	2165185	351888	4359769
1825	12948141	49639174	15641797	4731815	533563	1892297	313356	4290031
1826	17063482	38115630	13551779	4928329	653438	1534483	320993	4187521
1827	13370364	38719644	11212838	4405708	431765	1434186	312609	4531645
1828	15070444	41927792	12884468	5629694	375238	1242048	306699	6217881
1829	12520744	34743307	10100152	4004135	393332	1139618	380293	6857309
1830	10433544	35624070	8708123	4523866	403739	1654619	282346	7599082
1831	14389836	57077417	12194683	4826577	406322	1238163	399940	9766693
1832	18110900	53214409	10678558	4629903	539689	1213725	253417	9671653

As an advance in the discussion of the subject hereafter, a good deal will necessarily be said upon the subject of the tariff system of the United States, and of its effects upon the general commerce and prosperity. It will be sufficient to say, in this place, that the onerous and restrictive legislation of Congress, and its heavy protective duties, produced results which in 1832 nearly ended in civil war. The protest of one of the States (South Carolina), in 1830, against this abuse of power may well be kept upon record. She then protested—

1. Because the good people of that Commonwealth believe that the powers of Congress were delegated to it in trust for the accomplishment of certain specified objects which limit and control them, and that every exercise of them for any other purposes is a violation of the Constitution as unwarrantable as the undisguised assumption of substantive independent powers not granted or expressly withheld.

2. Because the power to lay duties on imports is, and in its very nature can be, only a means of effecting the objects specified by the Constitution: since no free government, and least of all a government of enumerated powers, can of right impose any tax (any more than a penalty) which is not at once justified by public necessity, and clearly within the scope and purview of the social compact, and since the right of confining the appropriations of the public money to such legitimate and constitutional objects is as essential to the liberties of the people, as their unquestionable privilege to be taxed only by their own consent.

3. Because they believe that the Tariff Law, passed by Congress at its last session, and all other acts of which the principal object is the protection of manufactures, or any other branch of domestic industry—if they be considered as the exercise of a supposed power in Congress, to tax the people at its own good will and pleasure, and to apply the money raised to objects not specified in the Constitution—is a violation of these fundamental principles, a breach of a well-defined trust, and a perversion of the high powers vested in the Federal Government for Federal purposes only.

4. Because such acts, considered in the light of a regulation of commerce, are equally liable to objection—since, although the power to regulate commerce may, like other powers, be exercised so as to protect domestic manufactures, yet it is clearly distinguished from a power to do so, *eo nomine*, both in the nature of the thing and in the common acceptation of the terms; and because the confounding of them would lead to the most extravagant results, since the en-

couragement of domestic industry implies an absolute control over all the interests, resources and pursuits of a people, and is inconsistent with the idea of any other than a simple consolidated government.

5. Because from the contemporaneous exposition of the Constitution, in the numbers of the *Federalist*, (which is cited only because the Supreme Court has recognized its authority,) it is clear that the power to regulate commerce was considered by the convention as only incidentally connected with the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures; and because the power of laying imposts and duties on imports was not understood to justify in any case a prohibition of foreign commodities except as a means of extending commerce by coercing foreign nations to a fair reciprocity in their intercourse with us, or for some other *bona fide* commercial purpose.

6. Because whilst the power to protect manufactures is nowhere expressly granted to Congress, nor can be considered as necessary and proper to carry into effect any specified power, it seems to be expressly reserved to the States by the tenth section of the first article of the Constitution.

7. Because even admitting Congress to have a constitutional right to protect manufactures by the imposition of duties or by regulations of commerce, designed principally for that purpose, yet a Tariff of which the operation is grossly unequal and oppressive, is such an abuse of power, as is incompatible with the principles of a free government, and the great ends of civil society, justice and equality of rights and protection.

8. Finally, because South Carolina, from her climate, situation, and peculiar institutions, is, and must ever continue to be, wholly dependent upon agriculture and commerce, not only for her prosperity, but for her very existence as a State—because the abundant and valuable products of her soil—the blessings by which Divine Providence seems to have designed to compensate for the great disadvantages under which she suffers in other respects—are among the very few that can be cultivated with any profit by slave labor—and if by the loss of her foreign commerce, these products should be confined to an inadequate market, the fate of this fertile State would be poverty and utter desolation—her citizens in despair would emigrate to more fortunate regions, and the whole frame and constitution of her civil polity be impaired and deranged, if not dissolved entirely.

Deeply impressed with these considerations, the Representatives of the good people of this Commonwealth, anxiously desiring to live in peace with their fellow citizens, and to do all that in them lies to preserve and perpetuate the union of the States and the liberties of which it is the surest pledge—but feeling it to be their bounden duty to expose and to resist all encroachments upon the true spirit of the Constitution, lest an apparent acquiescence in the system of protecting duties should be drawn into precedent, do, in the name of the Commonwealth of South Carolina, claim to enter upon the journals of the Senate their Protest against it, as unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust.

ART. II.—IMMORTAL FICTIONS.

It is not often that a work of fiction excites more than a passing interest, or exercises a more profound influence than that of amusement. The productions of Cervantes, Le Sage, Defoe and Walter Scott are but exceptions that establish the rule; and Don Quixote and Gil Blas might well be thrown out of the list of purely fictitious works, as they not only inculcate a profound moral, but reflect the *true* features of correlative living character. The morality of the Waverley novels

being of a negative kind, they—in common with the mass of British novelists—rest for their success upon their power of exciting the passive imagination, and of amusing the surrendered mind. *Ivanhoe*, *Tom Jones* and the *Vicar of Wakefield* are of too recent date for us to pronounce dogmatically upon their immortality. It must be confessed that the class of which the two last mentioned are representatives are scarcely known to the mass of readers, and are esteemed only by literary connoisseurs. These were publications of the highest repute fifty years ago; and it is possible, in the mutations of style and social life, that, like them, the charming creations of “the Wizard of the North” may become old-fashioned and prosy.

The great pictures of English life, exhibited on the canvas of Dickens, Bulwer and Thackeray, however vivid and captivating, will probably fall into that dark and sombre tint, laid on by time, that most terrible of painters,—a tint so much lauded by the initiated few, and so utterly unappreciated by the outside millions. Our posterity of the 25th century may have a scene from *Vanity Fair* offered up to them by some learned Academician, as a literary curiosity, in the same manner as a bit of *Perseus* or *Aristophanes* is now and then popularly interpreted to us. Lord *Verisopht* may be plagiarized into some modern fop, with impunity, by the novelist of the day, and *Gentlemen Waife* and *Pelham* may serve but “to point a moral or adorn a tale.”

But the fairy tales of our youth, even the most juvenile, of the *Cinderella* order, and, advancing in interest, *Robin Hood*, *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Arabian Nights*, will no doubt live as long as the English language is spoken. Innocuous emanations of *fancy*, and addressing the young thought and feeling yet rambling through the quasi barbarous period of adventure and superstition, they exercise the same fresh power upon successive generations.

But is there a work of *imagination*—necessarily representing the moral as well as the physical life—that we can confidently pronounce immortal? Outside of the few world-renowned fictions, excepted already, it would be premature to set up such a claim, even for the most acceptable and celebrated publications. We have no reference to the drama, nor to fiction adorned by poetry. But we simply ask, who of the legion of novelists—properly so called—who have deluged the reading public with their lucubrations for the major part of this century; who of the more select band of ruffled worthies that delighted the good people from the days of *Queen Anne*, who of these prose novelists is sure of immortality? Prose fiction

is a modern fact, and at the present day the sneers before indulged in at the novel-reader have completely died away. The wheel of literature has rolled around. Dialectics, heavy Divinity, the French Epigram, the Pedantic Essay, have each had its day, and have successively sunk beneath the horizon. The literature of the present day is for the most part comprised of Science and Fiction. And until this arc of fashion rolls out of sight, he who would address the popular ear and popular heart will succeed most readily through the avenue of Fiction.

Philosophy, Romance, Narrative, Science, Poetry, nay, even *Truth* itself, have been compelled to don the fashionable attire, or else sleep in the hands of ancients, or on the bookseller's shelf. The novel has become a household and daily fact. As such it must be accepted and treated. He who would dispute the influence of this fact, would now declare himself an idiot. Religion itself, fearing to find in Fiction a foe, has for some time worn its garb to popularize the Divine truths of Christianity. But we must not be led into a discussion of the character and influence of modern fiction—the temptation is great, but, as the Gaul tersely but inaccurately remarked, "We must fry some fish!"

Prosaic fiction, before the days of Goldsmith and Fielding, was but an abortion of the mind, but vaguely foreshadowing the vigor and symmetry of the full offspring of Genius. Such abnormal pictures of the imagination were the monstrous extravaganzas of the Feudal Chroniclers, and the tiresome hagiology of the Mediæval Monks.

The modern novel was born in the brain of Walter Scott. The publication of the Waverley Novels marked the advent of a new era, the result of a wide-spread education produced by the influence of the Printing Press. Then was inaugurated the literary revolt of *Æsthetical* civilization, from the bonds of Scholasticism on the one hand, and Epigrammatic frippery on the other.

Scott was a literary reformer; but that his originality consisted in aught but the *form* of thought, we are not prepared to say. Without question, he opened new paths of thought and feeling. He was a benefactor to his race, for he lit up the common life of man with the beautiful lights of a vivid imagination; and with the radiancy of a fine humor he flashed an honest glow into the hearts of thousands.

But must Walter Scott necessarily become immortal, as Plato or Shakspeare is immortal? Or has not the sturdy iconoclast of Chelsea already anticipated the verdict of a remote and refined posterity, in the insolent fling—"Pretty Story-telling Walter?" We will not venture to decide. Per-

sonally, we fold Ivanhoe and Quentin Durward to our hearts and laugh, in advance, at the hypercritical airs of our over-civilized great-grandchildren! But, judiciously, we admit that those *enfants terrible* must have their day, and that our boyhood's delight and manhood's solace may be to their etherialized taste but the oaten reed of Pan, or the alphabet of a far purer and higher pictorial genius.

This suspicion on our part is based upon the fact that the Waverley Novels, and their thousand imitations, are mainly *objective* in their pictures of life, and therefore one-sided. Men must eat, drink and deal in adventures, from fighting before Troy to driving a bargain on the Strand; but they must also think and feel—be the subjects of *passion*. The hero of the perfect novel should not only act, but reflect; not only should he look out upon the visible and pronounced features of the world around him, but he should also look in upon the invisible, vaguely-discerned lineaments of the spirit within him, a spirit which chiefly makes him Man. The combination of these two counterpart qualities, in one person, and their harmonious solution in the grand problem of life, is one of the foundation principles that underlie all of Shakspeare's great conceptions, and which invest them with so indescribable an air of naturalness and life. His men are men, not abstractions. They live a concrete life in a concrete society,—not moving like unsphered spirits amidst naked thoughts and feelings, nor like brainless gladiators in a fool's paradise. Compare Iago with Du Bois Gilbert, one of Scott's most vigorous characters, and this superior naturalness is patent. Scott tells us—and graphically, too—how the proud Templar felt and thought and spoke: Iago, in the hand of the Great Master, shows himself to us, even as our personal acquaintances do, without the help of outside comment, or the intervention of any accomplished accoucheur of thought. The invention of the one is carefully veiled, but covered with external description and gaudily labeled—"Man," "Hero," or "Villain!" In the conception of the other, no veil obscures the actual processes of thought, feeling and expression, which "give the world assurance of a man!"

The more recent school of English novelists, headed by Bulwer, Dickens and Thackeray, have advanced beyond the chronicles of Matthew Paris and the brilliant narratives of Scott. They have delighted the reading world by presentations of men "compounded of many simples"—thinking, speaking and acting as we find them in life. Uniting (we speak in gross) the analytic, descriptive and dramatic methods,

they have approximated, if they have not achieved, a great and lasting success.

Should the works of this triad—now, unquestionably, the masters of modern fiction—wane in interest or become absolute in the course of time, the germs of such decadence appear to us to lie patent upon the pages of their finest publications.

Bulwer may fail of immortality, in the same proportion as he falls below the stature of genius. In the fine arts (and De Quincey proves Literature to be one of them), genius alone has discovered the Fountain of Eternal Youth. Talent does the work of to-day and to-morrow; and the day after returns to the dust whence it came, in spite of all its energy. Men of talents are then the day-laborers of the mind. One genius opens the mine for the work of myriads such as these. The palaces, temples and fields of his imagination are transformed into facts of wood, stone and fruitful earth by the cunning-fingered crowd that follow his steps and become rich upon the overflow of his beneficent greatness! Bulwer, in spite of extraordinary cleverness, is not a genius. The lights of a brilliant intellect flash from his varied page. His creations, however failing in originality, shine with all the polish of taste, and are splendid with the grace of scholarship. His works, the latter especially, please and instruct in an eminent degree, but they are, nevertheless, the offspring of the Lamp and the File. If Bulwer be read five hundred years hence, we are neither prophets nor sons of a prophet, and genius may be born of labor. If after that interval he will have become forgotten, it will but prove our thesis, that even eminent and well-directed talent may not aspire to the crown of Immortality.

Dickens, on the other hand, is the child of nature. He writes as the birds sing and as the rivers flow. But it is not every bird that sings the song of the nightingale, nor every stream that can be raised from the mud of utility into the region of the beautiful. We cannot forget that the author of the *Pickwick Papers* is also the author of *Bleak House*. That he is the Prince of Humor does not incapacitate him from being also the Prince of Dullness. The excessive contrasts ever presented by the works of this remarkable man prove undeniably that eccentricity may degenerate into affectation, humor into buffoonery, and pathos into bathos.

The son of a God may possess the stature and strength of the Cyclop; but, lacking the grace and symmetry of the Apollo, he is doomed to thunder on his anvil in the bowels of the earth. The workshop of Mr. Dickens is situated certainly too low; for, though he sometimes dazzles our eyes by a piece of work exquisite as the shield of Achilles, he is too often tinkering upon

grotesque pots and pans, to divert our attention from his many monstrosities. Should Dickens live to be read by Americans lapsing into the yellow leaf of a fading civilization, it will be to the accompaniment of many a laugh, a few tears, and an unknown quantity of disgust.

He has held the mirror up to nature; but not as Shakspeare did—to Kings and Beggars, and all between, in a large and royal style—but up to quaint heroes, shabby villains and abnormal children chiefly, atoning for his Puck and Caliban predilection, now and then, by the reflection of an angelic face, or by the head of a Prospero.

Of Thackeray it is more difficult to dispose. Of a more reserved and classical genius, he addresses a smaller and more discerning audience. The author of *Vanity Fair* could never have become popular in the sense that Dickens is popular. His publications are too intellectual for such general acceptance. The kitchen and the drawing-room enjoy Mr. Weller in common; but the simple nobility of Col. Newcome can only be appreciated by the refined. Nor could Thackeray have achieved the popularity of Bulwer; for with equal culture and superior calibre of mind, he yet continually disturbs the serenity of the optimist, and offends the sensibility of that class upon whose patronage circulating libraries chiefly depend. Choosing satire for his theme, he at once strengthens and weakens himself—strengthens, in so far as he restricts himself to a method in which he greatly excels—to a weapon, in the fatal play of which both the generosity and the terrible power of a great master is evidenced—weakens, in as much as he violates, by this contraction, the proprieties of a life's picture, and maims and vitiates what should have been a healthy and symmetrical genius. That satire is successful, affords proof that human nature is a legitimate subject for its exercise; but that satire should form the chief staple of fictitious literature, is no more proper than that Major Dobbins and Becky Sharp are true pictures of average men and women. We would fain believe that Thackeray possessed power to have written an immortal work; but we dare not pronounce him as having done so, until, *Hibernicé*, we hear from posterity!

Turning from these great writers, we look across a sea of literary aspirants, but although recognizing many a head encircled with its proper bays, we can discern none that are crowned beforehand (except by a frantic worshiper) with the amaranth diadem. But, softly! Did we say none? Who, then, are those Titans, looming grandly, but somewhat mistily, across the ocean, from the Continent!

Goethe is dead. His fame, poetic, artistic, philosophical, is

the pride of his land. He, the great Critic and Interpreter of Shakspeare, could, doubtless, have created a novel upon the plan and with the power of Shakspeare: but Faust has no counterpart in prose, for Wilhelm Meister is no more a great novel than it is a great steeple!

Victor Hugo is yet alive—and, dissenting vehemently, as sons of Englishmen and Conservatives, from his frequent heresies, we can never take his great work, *Les Misérables*, into our hands except with profound deference and unaffected emotion. Let men say what they will as to the character of this extraordinary book, it is plainly stamped with the broad seal of genius. Since Shakspeare wrote his *Lear*, no such moving scenes of passionate humanity have thrilled the hearts of men.

ART. III.—THE TWO ARISTOCRACIES OF AMERICA.

THE term Aristocracy is usually considered only to be strictly applicable to an hereditary nobility. To a class of men entitled to govern, not because of superior wisdom or merit of any kind, nor of superior wealth, but by virtue of blood or descent. Yet the advocates of such an aristocracy contend with great force of argument and powerful array of facts and authorities, that an aristocracy of blood, founded, as such aristocracies always are, on the courage, bearing, wisdom, and wealth of its original members, will furnish better and far safer rulers, than the people at large would ever select. Practically, this difference of opinion between the Democratic and Aristocratic theories of government seems compromised in Europe, by leaving the chief executive department of government to be filled on the principle of hereditary aristocracy of blood, whilst most of the inferior offices, especially the legislative, shall be selected for presumed merit, either directly or indirectly, by the people.

Such an aristocracy as this has never existed in our America; and no institution is so odious to us, nor so little understood by us. Yet, in the metaphorical sense, we have thousands of aristocracies among us, none the less real, and many of them far more insidious and dangerous because metaphorical. All wealth is hereditary, all a special privilege, and confers actual power—power of the most odious kind—that of *commanding* the labor of the working classes, without paying for it; for the rich retain their capital, only employing it as a means or instrument to command labor without paying for it. Wherever this process is seen, and can be understood by the

people, it becomes extremely unpopular, as in the case of domestic slavery at the South—and is dubbed in derision aristocracy. No doubt the slaveholders of the South did constitute an aristocracy, and one that united much of hereditary merit, to hereditary descent. They generally controlled the administration of Federal affairs, except when pecuniary advantages were to be had, on which occasions the North predominated. The splendid career of the Republic, its vast expansion, and its rapid increase in wealth and population, attest the merit, the energy, and the wisdom of this ruling power, the slaveholding aristocracy of the South. A more honest and incorruptible set of men never directed the affairs of a nation. They were jealous guardians of the treasury, opponents of heavy taxation, lavish expenditure, and especially of all partial legislation. We never may see their like again. They did not tax, exploit, or in any way make, or seek to make a profit out of the North, but were her best customers, buying her manufactures, with forty per cent. added to their open market value by protective legislation, and selling to her, cheap, corn, wheat, rice, tobacco, cotton, and various other agricultural products and raw materials, cheap, because at their open market value, unprotected by partial legislation. Thus, the North did tax, exploit, and make a profit out of the slaveholding aristocracy. Our only sin was that we did tax, exploit, and make a profit out of the labor of our slaves, *commanding* their labor, not as capitalists, but as masters. For this sin, if sin it were, the South has suffered most grievously, and, if Radical rule be continued, must in the future suffer still more grievously.

Yet, would the Freedmen but be as quiet, patient, and submissive as free white laborers are elsewhere, we would tax, exploit, and make a larger profit out of their labor by the command which capital gives over that labor, than we ever did by our command as masters, and should, therefore, find "free labor cheaper than slave labor." The Radicals, who never dream of giving white laborers more than the market value of labor, regulated by the cruel, exacting, and grossly dishonest laws of free competition and supply and demand, have, in many instances, compelled employers to pay for negro labor, not its market price or value, but what these Radicals considered its real value—thus making the negroes a privileged class. Gradually and surely, however, negro labor must be brought down to an equal footing with white labor; and then, if we could but keep the negroes quiet and at work, we should be greater aristocrats than ever, and the negroes more degradingly enslaved than ever. But the negro's instinct will reject what the white man's boasted reason tamely and passively submits to.

He does not understand political economy, could not for his life pronounce the words, but feels that the laws of free competition and demand and supply operate as a bitter mockery and crying injustice, and would often starve him, not because his labor was intrinsically less valuable, but because labor was more abundant. When labor ceases to be sufficiently remunerative, white laborers hold meetings, publish windy preambles and resolutions, enter into Trades' Unions, and have strikes. On such occasions negroes will fight outright, seeing no other exodus from their difficulties. We see no better prospect in the future, at least in all of our towns and cities, than a perpetually recurring war of the races. The Southern aristocracy is asphyxiated, if not defunct.

Whilst the chivalry of the North and of Europe, essentially aided by the negroes, were scotching the Southern Hydra, a monster ten times more terrible grew up at the North-East, more rapidly and in grander proportion than 'Jack's Bean.' The moneyed power,

"Monstrum horrendum, informe ingens, cui lumen ademptum,"

appeared upon the political arena. A monster, unprincipled, rapacious, cruel, exacting, vulgar, thievish, omnipresent, and almost omnipotent. Now domestic slavery is abolished, and there is no political slavery in America—but slavery to capital such as never existed anywhere in this world before, is grinding down into the dust every laboring man in America. If you doubt it, calculate your taxes, and compare them with the taxes you paid before the war. Are they not ten times as great? Or go to a store and buy the necessaries of life, do they not cost twice as much? If you be a laborer, have your wages risen proportionally? Certainly not! Fifty per cent., in bad money, has been added, perhaps, to your wages, and a hundred per cent. to your expenses. And for whose benefit? Certainly not for that of the Government, or of the people at large, and as certainly for the benefit of the vulgar, vicious, *parvenu* moneyed aristocracy, that, mushroom-like, have grown up out of the ruin of both North and South. The Federal Government has become a mere agent to collect interest for the Government creditors, and to enact protective tariffs to increase the profits of North-Eastern manufacturers. Politically we are free, but the moneyed aristocracy of the North-East lords it over us of the South and of the North-West, and, indeed, of the whole agricultural and laboring interest, wherever situated, with ten times the cruelty, and twenty times the rapacity, that ever Imperial Russia lorded it over abjectly enslaved Poland. This new aristocracy that has arisen on the ruins of the slave

aristocracy knows no distinctions of race or color; it tyrannizes over and robs them all alike. The National debt belongs to this new aristocracy; most of the State and Corporation debts are due to them; the Banks all over the Union, in great part, are owned by them; so are the Railroads and Canals, and the factories of various manufactures, and the great mercantile interest is theirs. Through all these agencies they tax the agricultural and working interests of the nation. They do not labor, they are non-producers, but tax the whole productive labor of the nation so heavily as to take away from it more than half its products. Are men thus taxed freemen or slaves? What matters it whether you call the man who takes away, under the forms of law, without compensation, half the proceeds of your labor, Master or Fellow-Citizen? Does not North-Eastern capital now tax white labor more heavily than ever masters taxed negro slaves? Is not the new aristocracy of capital situated mostly at the North-East, ten times as rapacious and exacting as ever was the slave aristocracy? Is not the Federal Government in their hands, and do they not employ it as a mere engine to tax, fleece, rob, and exploit the South and the North-West? Have they not ten times the wealth of Croesus, and did they ever labor, did they ever make an honest cent? Is not all their wealth the result of the mere tricks of trade? Like the Faro Banker, they cut, shuffle, and deal the cards, and rob everybody's pocket, and nobody can understand how.

In way of profits of trade, interest derived from National debt, from State and Corporate debts, and dividends on Stocks, more than two thousand millions of dollars a year is transferred from the pockets of the laboring producers of the North-West and of the South to the capitalists, the idle non-producers of the North-East. Such is the aristocracy that has succeeded to the slaveholding aristocracy, and that now rules and tyrannizes over the nation. We are the most heavily taxed people upon the face of the earth, and, therefore, the least free. We begin to feel it, but do not see it and understand it.

The North-West and the South, the whole agricultural and laboring interests of the nation, must combine to check the aggressions and mitigate the cruel exactions of North-Eastern *fictitious* capital, or universal bankruptcy and bloody anarchy will soon ensue. The capital that oppresses us is fictitious; it represents no real values; it has not, and never had, a real existence; 'tis the mere creature of legal construction and of legislative and financial legerdemain. 'Tis a mere power of taxation conferred by law—not property, not wealth, nothing

real, substantial, visible or tangible whatever. This aristocracy have no money, and never had any. The law has made their otherwise worthless credit subserve the purposes of money. They have the power of taxation—nothing more. The real material wealth, the actual visible and tangible capital, and all, or almost all, the productive industry of the country, is to be found in the North-West and the South, but all the profits of this wealth and this industry are transferred by the tricks of trade, by legislative contrivance, and financial legerdemain, to the holders of fictitious capital in the North-East. Aristocracy! why the world has never seen an aristocracy half so powerful, half so corrupt, so unprincipled, and rapacious, nor one-tenth so vulgar and so ignorant, as the moneyed aristocracy of the North-East.

The North-West is taxed, cheated, exploited, enslaved by it, yet continues to glorify a Union that has built up and sustains this aristocracy, and to abuse and fight the shades of defunct slavery, and of a defunct Southern aristocracy. Better change their tactics, unite with the South, always their best friends and customers, and make war upon our common enemies, the moneyed aristocracy of the North-East. Nay: the whole agricultural and laboring interests of the nation should unite, and, as one compact party, strenuously endeavor to check the aggressions and mitigate the tyranny of this new aristocracy. For we stake our honor as a man, and our reputation as a philosopher and political economist, to the truth of the statement, "that if slavery consist in the fact that one set of men labor, whilst another set, without paying an equivalent, appropriate great part of the results or products of that labor," that then the agriculturists, we mean the laboring class of them, of America, are at this day and hour more grievously, cruelly, and degradingly enslaved, than ever were the negroes of the South.

None but a fool will deny the proposition. Everybody knows that the white agricultural laborers, the men who own but little or no land, and cannot command other people's labor, are virtually enslaved. But nobody cares for, or sympathizes with, white slavery. It is unfashionable to deny or oppose such slavery, and fashion rules and regulates our sympathies, feelings, and opinions, just as it regulates the cut and color of our clothes. All common laborers stand on the same footing with agricultural laborers, and all should unite to oppose and put down the rule of the North-Eastern moneyed aristocracy.

ART. IV.—THAD. STEVENS'S CONSCIENCE—THE RUMP PARLIAMENT.

CONSCIENCES, in the general, are vague, indeterminate, illusory, half-developed, capricious and undefinable things. To catch, cage, and analyze a conscience, would be as difficult a task as to arrest, confine, and analyze the electric spark. We have observed, however, that the most ordinary phenomenon of a good, sound, healthy conscience, is, that it begets a feeling of elation, self-approval, self-appreciation and happiness when we have succeeded in our undertakings, and on the other hand depresses our spirits, destroys our self-respect, makes us look mean and sheepish, and feel penitent and remorseful, when we have failed in those undertakings, without the slightest regard, in either case, to the objects or ends in view. Much has been said, and with some truth, of a clean shirt and sound stomach, as promotives of cheerful spirits and a clear conscience. A dyspeptic usually looks and feels mean and melancholy; and his conscience is reproachful in consequence of the infirmity of his stomach. So a man in a dirty shirt, with a long beard, uncombed hair, and unbrushed clothes, hat and boots, is uneasy, uncomfortable, and a little conscience-smitten—unless he has just returned a large winner from a faro bank. In that case, no matter what the condition of his stomach, or his clothing, he is gay as a lark, self-appreciative, and self-approving, and has a clear, clean conscience, that will cheer him up through life—or at least until he spends or loses his winnings. Until that time, too, he will be (seemingly at least) respected and admired by his associates; and few men care for public opinion outside of their ordinary associations. The man who has lost his money last night, and half ruined himself, in vain moves his toilet, has his boots blacked, his hat and clothes brushed, washes his face, changes his linen, shaves, and combs his head. Not “all the means and appliances to boot,” not brandy, not “Hock and soda water,” will soothe the upbraidings of his guilty conscience. He is self-reproachful, miserable, penitent, cowed, despises himself, and is despised by his acquaintances; not because he gambled, but because he was unlucky. Oh conscience, what a miserable jade thou art! You follow and fawn on, approve and flatter the rich, powerful and fortunate, and apply the scorpion’s lash of remorse and misery to the weak, the poor, and unfortunate. Some men have continually unquiet consciences merely because they are afflicted with bilious temperaments; others are always cheerful, happy, and elate, for no other reason that we can discern, except that

they have sound digestion, clean skins, and ruddy complexions.

How fallacious, treacherous, and deceptive a guide mere conscience is, we see most conspicuously displayed in the false estimate which the world holds of successful warriors and great conquerors, and in the false concert and undue self-appreciation which their successful butcheries engender in themselves. Bonaparte was, without comparison, not only the greatest of human homicides, but the most purposeless and useless one. Caesar, and all other Roman conquerors, spread and planted Roman civilization in the track of their conquests; a civilization that generally remains to the present day, and which probably will never become extinct. Alexander spread Greek civilization throughout Western Asia and part of Africa, and even Mahomet and his successors elevated and enlightened the people that they subdued. But Bonaparte did exactly the reverse of all this. He disgusted all sensible, virtuous, and conservative people with French politics, French manners and customs, French thought, morality and infidelity, with the French language, and with Frenchmen. In Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, throughout Continental Europe, and even in England and America, Bonaparte found French thought, manners and customs aped and imitated, and the French literature, language, and civilization cultivated among all the higher and more enlightened classes. When his star began to rise above the horizon, all Christendom was half-galvanized. His cruel, disorganizing, bloody career of conquest and of carnage, disgusted whatever was respectable and influential in the world, not only with himself, but with Frenchmen, and with everything pertaining or peculiar to them. Yet so long as he was successful, the world, except a few of the thoughtful, admired. He nationalized every petty State in Europe as fast as Caesar and Alexander denationalized whole continents, and applauded him as never was man admired and applauded before. The world's conscience then was where it will always be found, on the side of the successful; and Bonaparte's conscience became the more self-satisfied and self-approving, just in proportion as he slaughtered more men, devastated more countries, and inflicted more of human misery in every form. He became perfectly beside himself with arrogance, pretension, vanity, and self-conceit, and issued weekly bulletins, more pompous, frothy, silly and absurd, than Alexander's drunken pretensions to divinity. Measured by the amount of human misery which he wantonly and causelessly inflicted, and he was the worst man that ever lived, yet so long as he was successful his whole conduct and behavior showed that he had the clearest and most approving conscience of any man in Christendom.

When luck ran against him, he was visited with the most horrible goadings of conscience, and stings of remorse. Hence he took poison on his retreat to Fontainebleau, and demeaned himself like a restless, angry, fretful, snarling beast of prey, in his cage at St. Helena.

Conscience, when not properly trained, cultivated, educated, and directed, is a mere infidel Bible.

The title of our essay is paradoxical, and most people, without these prefatory remarks, would be ready to exclaim, "Why, the man must be mad. As well attempt to write a dissertation on hen's teeth, or mares' nests, or the wool of a bull-frog, as on Thad. Stevens's conscience. He never was suspected of owning such an inconvenient thing in his life." Now, we are charged, by our best friends, with paradox and eccentricity, and are resolved to live down and write down all such injurious imputations. Thad. has a conscience—an excellent, healthy, sound, capacious, comprehensive, adaptable, plastic, elastic, Protean, chameleon-like, powerful conscience. A forty-horse power conscience. A conscience that, with its horrid congressional imprecations, had like to have "hurled headlong" the whole South,

"With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fires."

Why, the man was as terrific in his conscience-compelling wrath as Jupiter Tonans hurling thunderbolts from Mount Olympus, to crush the Titans, or Jeffries on his circuit, or Puritan John Milton cursing kings, lauding regicides, and eulogizing Cromwell, or the Bostonians when burning witches and hanging Quakers, or the Puritan parson, who but the other day whipped his three-year-old child to death, because it would not say its prayers. Aye! to the full, as conscientious, as wrong-headed, and as black-hearted as any of them, and as "terribly in earnest" as they. How happy and self-approving Thad. must have felt with his "Rump" and "Barebone" fanatics ever ready to follow his lead and obey his commands, whether he ordered them to exclude Southern gentlemen from their seats, or to apply a little of Pride's Purge to the Senate, when the number of Northern gentlemen and conservatives in that body threatened to become dangerous! How happy whilst he saw how his tyranny and his persecutions impoverished, tortured and tormented the South! Such conscience as his, and that of the crew that followed at his heels, delight in cruelty and in inflicting pain and misery; for it is only thus that they can gratify their vulgar ideas and appetite for power, just as the

King of Dahomy or the Emperor of Hayti has a few hundred subjects beheaded to celebrate a festival. The vulgar are always cruel, and conscientiously cruel. Thad's Congress, with a few Democratic and Conservative exceptions, was as vulgar and as cruel a body as ever convened in Europe or America. Nothing saved the South from bloody decimation and general confiscation but the protecting shield of the President, and their apprehensions of that sleeping Lion, the Northern army. We would advise Thad., in order to keep in practice during the recess, to compose *Anathema Maranatha* for the Pope, to correspond with Parson Brownlow, and write for Forney's paper. We should have nothing to say about his conscience, if he and his fanatic Legislature were not representative men, just samples and specimens of the worst phase of Puritanism. Just such men as emerge from the Puritan ranks in time of civil commotion and revolution, and take the lead in government. All New Englanders are not Puritans, and all Puritans are not vulgar, ignorant, and half-demented like Thad. and his Rump. A majority of the people of New England may be brought to entertain kind feelings towards the South, and to mete out something like justice and equality to us, if we will only discriminate between the vile outgrowths of Puritanism that are ever disturbing and disgusting society, at home and abroad, and the great body of the sect, who are usually moderate, orderly, conservative people, a little given to money-making and self-righteousness. Throughout their whole history, they have had the most accommodating, elastic, self-approving consciences in the world, and hence have ever been the most conceited people in the world. But they have played quite a useful and conspicuous part in human affairs, and we can well forgive their self-conceit except when they put their meanest uppermost, and place in power the cruel, the vindictive, the intolerant, the vulgar and the ignorant, such as the Rump and Barebone Parliaments in England, and Thad. and his suit here. Love is a pleasanter passion than hate, and we have been hating so intensely for the last six years, that we are now looking about for something to love. The search, we hope, will not be vain, even in New England. Indeed, we have a good many valued friends there already, and some of them, strange to say, thorough abolitionists. But they are mere monomaniacs, sane on all other subjects, and quite interesting and amusing even in their madness. They afford us very instructive subjects for philosophical dissection, analysis, and disquisition, and are, besides, very agreeable companions. Old age, too, is approaching, and we wish to have as few causes of disquietude as possible. We are resolved to hate no one, and to quarrel with no

one. No, not even with Thad. Stevens and his men. They are rather subjects for contempt and ridicule, than for serious aversion. They have ceased to be dangerous, and will be placed in a pitiable plight should the fall elections go against them. Then, remorse of conscience will seize upon them and torture them, and we will try to condole with their sufferings. Besides, we know that they are still terribly afraid, even of the conquered South, and to make sure work of her, they were not content to give her a few extra stabs, as Falstaff gave the dead Percy, but they hewed and hacked and cut her to pieces just as negroes often serve the victims that they murder. Fear of a resurrecting South may account for, if not excuse, the seemingly superfluous cruelties of Thad. and his band of Radicals.

Just suppose that some fifty members from that section, whom Thad. was daily denouncing as rebels, and traitors, and murderers, should be suddenly admitted to their seats, and brought face to face with him. Would not his knees tremble, his hair stand on end, and his voice fail him? Nay, would he not faint, or swoon, or give up the ghost outright? That the Radicals should be afraid to admit Southern members whom they have grossly belied, insulted, and abused, is quite natural, and altogether in character with men who are habitually mendacious, scandalous, impertinent, and insulting, when they can escape responsibility; conscientiously so, no doubt, deeming such conduct and demeanor part of the prescriptive morality of the most saintly class of ultra Puritans, such as Butler has immortalized in his *Hudibras*, and such as now attend negro abolition gatherings.

Our purpose in writing this essay was to show that mere conscience is a treacherous delusion and dangerous moral guide, and in taking up Thad's for dissection, we cared no more for him than the dissecting anatomist does for his subject, and now cast him aside with equal *sang-froid*!

ART. V.—THE AMERICAN FISHERIES.

GENERAL FACTS—COD, HERRING, ALEWIVES, SHAD, MACKEREL, SALMON, WHITE FISH, HALIBUT, STURGEON, LOBSTERS, OYSTERS, CLAMS, WHALE FISHERY, ETC.

WE introduced this subject and gave some of the earliest information in regard to it in our article upon the "Progress of American Commerce" in the April and September numbers of the *REVIEW*. Drawing for our information upon the Reports of the United States Census, we append the following:

The total product of the fisheries of the United States, including the whale fishery in 1860, according to the official returns, was upwards of thirteen millions of dollars, (\$13,664,805)—an increase of more than thirty per cent. over their value in 1850. Considerably more than one-half of this amount, or \$7,749,305, was the proceeds of whale fishing, and \$4,183,503, or nearly one-third of the whole, represented the value of cod, mackerel, and herring, &c., taken in that year. The value of the white fish taken in the northern lakes was \$464,479; more than half of which was returned from Michigan. The shad fishery yielded a product of \$321,052—North Carolina being the largest producer. Of oysters, the value taken was \$756,350, and \$51,500 was the value of salmon caught, principally in the rivers of the Pacific coast.

The statistics of the deep-sea and river fisheries, exclusive of the whale trade, embrace the products of 1,524 establishments, and amounted to \$5,915,500. Of these, 1,053 belonged to the Eastern and Middle States, and employed an aggregate capital of \$3,898,606 and 13,699 hands, the product of which was \$4,756,766. The Western lake States returned 248 fishing establishments, with a capital of \$294,219, which employed 1,274 hands, and yielded a return of \$583,241. Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Texas numbered 206 establishments, with a capital of \$252,002, and an aggregate product of \$400,556. California, Oregon, and Washington Territory reported seventeen concerns, having collectively a capital of \$70,420 and 244 hands engaged in taking fish to the value of \$174,937. Of the aggregate returns, \$6,734,955, the product of the whaling business, and \$2,637,604, the value of other branches, making together \$9,163,842, or 70 per cent. of the total value, was the result of the maritime industry of Massachusetts alone. The latter sum was the product of 169 fishing establishments, whose capital amounted to \$2,520,200; the raw material consumed amounted to \$452,778, and the hands employed to 7,642, (twenty of them females,) whose labor was valued at \$1,220,439.

COD FISHERY.—The cod fishery, which has been an established industry of Massachusetts for more than two hundred years, employed annually, from 1765 to 1775, from twenty-one ports in that province, including Maine, an average of 665 vessels, a tonnage of 25,630 tons and 4,405 seamen. The annual exportation to Europe in that time was 178,800 quintals, which sold for \$3 05 per quintal, and to the West Indies the quantity exported was 172,500 quintals, worth \$2 06 per quintal. After the Revolution fishing was again resumed, and from 1786 to 1790 the number of vessels annually employed in this fishery was 539, the tonnage 19,185, the number of seamen 3,292, and the exports to Europe were 108,600 quintals, at \$3 each, and to the West Indies 141,550, at \$2 per quintal. Marblehead and Gloucester were the principal fishing ports. A memorial of the Marblehead fishermen to Congress, in 1790, stated that the average annual earnings of each schooner from that time had fallen from \$483 in 1787 to \$456 in 1788, and to \$283 in 1790.

The average annual expenses, including insurance, was \$416, showing a loss in the latter year of \$143. A report of Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury, on this and similar petitions, advised a withdrawal from the fisheries of all support from the treasury. Congress, however, granted a bounty on the exportation of salted fish by way of drawback of the duty on imported salt, and an allowance in money was afterwards made to vessels employed for a certain number of months in this fishery. Thus encouraged and stimulated by the revival of trade and commerce under the newly organized government, the New England fisheries again entered upon a season of prosperity. In 1807 four vessels were fitted out at Newburyport for the Labrador cod fishery, and were the first vessels from the United States that made their fares in the Esquimaux bay. From 1790 until the embargo and the last war with Great Britain, the export trade in fish steadily increased and reached its greatest prosperity. The heaviest exportations were in 1804, when they amounted to 567,828 quintals of dried fish, worth \$2,400,000, and 89,482 barrels and 13,045 kegs of pickled fish, worth \$640,000. The product of the cod fishery has never since been as great, and in 1814 fell to 31,310 quintals of dry fish, valued at \$128,000, and 8,436 barrels of pickled fish, worth \$50,000. The lowest average price obtained for dried and smoked fish from 1806 to 1823 was \$3 25 in 1809, and the highest price \$4 80 in 1815, towards the end of the war.

The principal markets for American codfish were the French, Spanish, Danish, Swedish, and Dutch West Indies, the Brazils, and the Catholic States of Europe. Hayti and the Spanish and Danish West Indies were the largest foreign consumers of pickled fish, but the greater part of the pickled fish of the United States is consumed at home.* An active trade, which commenced in 1791, is carried on from Gloucester, Massachusetts, with Surinam or Dutch Guiana, and in 1856 employed 14 ships, barks, and brigs. About the year 1845, a prosperous trade was commenced between that town and the British American provinces, from which, in 1856, upward of 200 vessels arrived annually. Gloucester, in that year, had employed in the fisheries a fleet of 304 vessels, averaging 70 tons each, or 21,000 tons of shipping. The capital invested was \$1,089,250, and the men employed in it 3,040. The town exported 72,000 barrels of mackerel, worth \$500,000, and 98,000 quintals of codfish, worth \$300,000, 650 barrels of oil, and 210 tons of smoked halibut, and consumed 250,000 bushels of salt. This was exclusive of the boat and shore fishery of the place. Boston, as the leading fish emporium, had, at the same date, about thirty houses engaged in the fish trade, whose aggregate capital was \$1,100,000, and their sales for that year were nearly \$6,000,000.† Massachusetts, in 1853, employed 51,425 tons of shipping in the cod fishery.

An important branch of the domestic fishery, carried on in the

* McGregor's Statistics of America.

† Third Annual Report of Boston Board of Trade, for 1857.

bays, harbors and rivers of New England—the value of which is usually omitted in the published statistics of this industry—is the trade in fresh fish for the daily markets of the seaport and inland cities of the Union. This trade is of two kinds: one of these consists in supplying the several maritime towns with fresh fish of various kinds, brought in boats from the local fisheries in the neighboring waters; the other is for the supply of more distant markets. Boston is the principal seat of the latter business, which was commenced there upwards of twenty years ago. In 1844, several firms in that city were engaged in furnishing New York, Philadelphia, Albany, Troy, and other cities, between the first of December and the first of May, in each year, with large quantities of fresh codfish, haddock, and halibut, to the amount of 1,734,000 pounds. Of this amount one of the oldest and largest firms alone sent off 934,000 pounds of halibut, and 386,000 pounds of cod and haddock. The trade employed at that time about 60 vessels, of 3,000 tons, and 400 men, one-half engaged in the halibut, and the other in the cod and haddock fishery. They were chiefly owned at Cape Ann and Cape Cod, and varied from six to fourteen days in the length of their voyages. The fish are brought to the wharves alive, by a peculiar construction of the vessels, which admits the water into a part of the hold, and when landed they are packed in ice and shipped to their destination. This business is conducted independently of that which supplies the city market. The latter trade, in 1836, employed in Boston 15 or 20 small schooners and a large number of boats in catching fresh codfish for market. A single vessel of 25 tons with six men, during five months, took 194,125 pounds of fresh cod, worth \$3,026, exclusive of the oil made from the livers, which sold for \$15 per barrel. The price varied from five to twelve shillings per hundred. Large quantities of haddock were, in the same way, brought to market and sold for a few cents each. Lynn, in the same season, was supplied with 4,680,000 pounds of fresh fish. Duxbury had ten market boats and forty men employed, which took thirty-eight to forty thousand fresh fish. Provincetown had the same number of boats in the business. Rockport, in Essex County, in 1855, sold 1,050,000 pounds of fresh fish, worth \$15,750. The sale of fresh codfish and halibut in Boston in 1856 was estimated at \$300,000. The fish were shipped in a frozen state to all the neighboring States.

HERRING.—On the coast of Newfoundland, where immense schools of herring appear early in the spring and furnish food for the cod, which pursue them close into the shore, they are chiefly caught by the resident fishermen for sale to the “bankers” and shore fishermen as bait for codfish. On the southern and western coasts of the island hundreds of barrels of live herring, of good quality, are often turned out of the seines in which they are taken, the people not deeming them worthy the salt and labor of curing. From this fishery, which is not pursued as a distinct branch of business, but might be made very profitable, our fishermen are excluded by the

great quantity of ice in the Gulf until the season is past. In the Gulf of St. Lawrence herring are also found so soon as the ice disappears, and here, particularly at the Magdalen islands, the Americans have long carried on a profitable herring fishery. The herring arrive there in April to spawn, and during their stay, which lasts about ten days, the waters are nearly solid with them, while the beach, when the wind blows on shore, is in many places covered two or three feet deep with their spawn. During their sojourn any quantity can be taken, but they are at that season generally poor. Their offspring, which inhabit the bays and harbors, become quite fat, being protected from the larger fish by the shallow water, while they become the tyrants of the small. These herring, being poor, are easily preserved by being smoked or "dry-salted," and will keep in hot weather. They are not much used where the better qualities can be obtained, and are never compressed for their oil. They are principally sold in the West Indies or in South American markets. In 1839 Captain Fair, of the royal navy, found at the Magdalen islands, chiefly at Amherst and House harbors, on the 19th of May, about 146 sail of American fishing schooners, of from 60 to 80 tons, and each carrying seven or eight men. Among them were only about seven belonging to the British possessions, chiefly from Arichat, Cape Breton. The American schooners were computed to average nearly 700 barrels each, or in all about 100,000 barrels, valued at \$100,000, as the product of 10,000 tons of shipping and 1,000 men, several of which by the 27th had completed their cargoes and sailed.

The best quality of herrings are taken in the Bay of Fundy and Passamaquoddy bay, the waters of which in the spring are literally alive with young herring, which feed and fatten on the shrimps brought in by the full tides. The spring herring are of large size and full of spawn, which abound in the harbors of Nova Scotia and neighboring provinces in May, are lean, and less esteemed than the fat fall herring. A small variety, very fat and delicious, enter the Digby gut about the end of May, and are caught in great quantity on the shore of Clements, in Annapolis basin. They are smoked and cured as red herring, and packed in boxes of half a bushel each, containing about 200 in number. Of these, 100,000 boxes have been exported in some years, but are now less plentiful than formerly. Many herring are taken in St. Mary's bay and the basin of Minas. In 1805 and two following years an average of 10,410 boxes of smoked fish were exported from Nova Scotia. The provincial laws respecting the inspection of fish have given them a reputation in foreign markets. Of the several species of this fish taken in the waters of the United States, the principal is the *Clupea elongata*, the representative of the common herring, (*C. harengus*.)

By the Dutch and English, herring are principally caught in drift nets, which the former make of coarse Persian silk, as being stronger than hemp, and 500 to 600 fathoms in length. These are blackened by smoke to disguise them, and in the evening are set, being buoyed

up by empty barrels and stretched by weights, so that the upper margin floats just at the surface. The darkest nights, and when the surface is rippled by a breeze, are considered the most favorable. Fishing by day with these gill-nets is prohibited in England. The fish are sometimes attracted towards them by lanterns, and in the morning the nets are drawn in by a windlass. Great quantities are sometimes meshed in this manner.

In American waters herring are at present principally taken in weirs, but formerly by "torching," or driving, which was as happy a union of business and pleasure as can well be imagined.

The principal seat of the herring fishery of Maine is in Washington county, and the neighborhoods of Lubec, Eastport, and Machias. The total catch of the State in 1860 was reported at 525,974 boxes of smoked herring, valued at about \$118,000, in addition to a few thousand barrels of pickled herring. Of the whole quantity, 398,174 boxes were returned by Washington county, which reported \$301,517 as the value of all kinds of fishes taken by its fishermen. Sagadahoc returned 90,000 boxes, and Knox county 7,000 boxes. The average value was less than twenty-five cents a box. In the State in 1850 there were returns of 29,685 boxes of herring taken. The total value of the smoked and pickled herring taken in the waters of Maine does not probably fall short of \$200,000 annually. This is the value estimated by Mr. Hallowell, who includes also the value of oil made from the herring by compression. The annual catch in Passamaquoddy bay is computed to be equal to 75,000 barrels, the market value of which is \$170,000. The quantity of herring taken being much in excess of the demand, about two-thirds of the catch, or 50,000 barrels, are now converted into oil, which sells at \$20 to \$25 per barrel at the manufactory. This manufacture of herring oil is of recent origin. The first press was introduced at Passamaquoddy in 1862 by U. S. Treat, Esq. At the present time almost every man engaged in the herring fishery has them. The market value of the oil has almost doubled in price since the first year. It is thought that fully 50 per cent. of the fish taken in future will be compressed for oil, which will cause a falling off in the number of boxes of smoked fish prepared for market. When herring are to be compressed they are red-salted in the same way as for smoking, but without being sealed, and are allowed to lie three or four days. The apparatus, including two presses, two screws, a kettle holding 70 gallons, &c., costs \$50. With this, two men will make from 35 to 40, or, if the herring be very fat, about 70 gallons of oil in a day. Fourteen presses, of five gallons each, is, however, an unusual day's work; three gallons each being the average of a season. The pomace or refuse of the press is used for manure, and sells for \$4 per ton. The poggy is preferred for the manufacture of oil, and considerable quantities of poggy oil are made in Maine, but that fish is now much less plentiful than formerly.

ALEWIVES.—The alewife, (*Clupea vernalis*), belonging to the same family with the common herring, and forming a link between it and

the shad, though less valuable than either, ascends our eastern rivers in great abundance in the spring. Unlike the herring, it deposits its spawn in fresh water. In former years more of this fish were taken and packed in Massachusetts than of any species of the same family. The quantity inspected in 1832 was 1,730 barrels; in 1833, 2,266 barrels, and in 1835, 5,600 barrels. Many were taken in the Charles river, at Watertown; the inspections in ten years preceding 1836 averaging 700 barrels annually. They were first pickled, then salted, barreled, and sent to the West Indies, where they sold for \$1 50 to \$2 per barrel. Twenty-five years before they were so abundant there as to be sold for twenty cents the hundred, and were shipped in greater quantities. The building of dams and factories on the rivers caused their partial disappearance. In 1854 Massachusetts employed 485 men in taking alewives, shad, and salmon to the amount of 52,278 barrels and 4,802,472 in number, the total value of which was \$73,156. They were principally taken at Watertown, Cambridge, Medford, Middlebury, Tisbury, Berkeley, Dighton, Gloucester, and Lynn. Upwards of half a million alewives were returned in 1860 by Sagadahoc county, in Maine, chiefly by Bowdoinham. Many of these fish from our eastern ports are sold in Baltimore for more southern markets, where they are in demand on account of their cheapness, being sold at \$3 50 to \$4 50 per barrel in ordinary seasons. But on account of their inferior value as a commercial article, much of the catch of these fish is not reported. Many alewives are also taken on the eastern shore of Maryland, St. Mary's county employing in 1860 eighty hands and eight seines, which caught about 16,000, valued, in the fresh or green state, at \$4,000. The season begins in September and lasts about two months.

SHAD.—In the rivers at the head of the Bay of Fundy, where many fine shad are taken, the gill-nets are sometimes made stationary and placed transversely to the stream, on a flat or bar, over which the tide flows many feet in depth. The shad are always meshed in the ebb of the tide. In the deep, narrow rivers at the head of the Bay of Fundy, where the tide ebbs and flows fifty or more feet in depth, seines are sometimes extended entirely across the channel from bank to bank. During the influx of the tide, they lie flat upon the bottom of the river, the upper margin directed up stream, and on the turn of the tide, at high water, they are sprung to a vertical position by means of boats and buoys, thus intercepting the return of nearly all the fish in the stream. Many thousands are thus taken in a single tide, although the sturgeon often opens vast rents in the seine, admitting a pretty general escape. Many shad are also taken in weirs, in Penobscot bay. The town of Richmond, in 1860, returned 32,000 as having been taken in four weirs. Large numbers of these fish were formerly taken in the Charles river, at Watertown, Massachusetts, and sold in Boston market for twenty-five cents each. Many were also caught at Taunton, where they were sometimes sold from the seines as low as fifty cents a hundred.

Large numbers of shad and manure fish are taken in the harbors and rivers of Long Island sound, by the fishermen of Connecticut, and in the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. In 1850, Connecticut returned 243,448 as the number of shad, exclusive of white fish used as fertilizers, caught in the State. North Carolina returned the same year 56,482 barrels of shad and herring.

The total value of shad fishery of the United States in 1860 was \$433,671. Of this amount North Carolina produced upwards of one-fourth, or \$117,259; Florida, \$68,952; New Hampshire, \$64,500; New Jersey, \$38,755; and Virginia, \$68,210. The average value returned in many places was about \$12 per barrel, and \$7 per hundred for fresh shad.

Of the *alosa menhaden*, an inferior species, known by the several local or popular names of mossbunker, pauhagen, hardhead, white fish, and bony fish, large numbers are caught for mackerel bait, and still larger quantities for manure. In former years they have been sold as bait to Massachusetts fishermen at \$2 to \$4 per barrel. Many of them are also packed and sold as food. For that purpose 1,448 barrels were inspected in Massachusetts in 1836. As fertilizers these fish have been caught and hauled upon the land in the neighborhood of Cape Cod for upwards of twenty years. A single fish of medium size has been considered equal, as a fertilizer, to a shovel-full of barn-yard manure. Their use for this purpose is now very extensive on the seaboard, especially in Connecticut, along the sound. In 1850, Connecticut returned nearly 37,000,000 of white fish, caught chiefly for that purpose, and Rhode Island reported 187,000 barrels of menhaden taken. In 1860, Middlesex, New Haven, and New London Counties, Connecticut, together returned about 27,000,000 of white and manure fish taken, valued at \$288,589, in addition to fish converted into \$31,500 worth of oil and fertilizers in New London county. At the average reported value of one dollar per thousand, these would make an aggregate of about 60,000,000 of mossbunkers taken in the State in the year, but the actual value is nearly \$2 per thousand. Vast numbers of these are taken at Sag Harbor and the shores of Long Island. In 1849 an attempt was made at New Haven, by Mr. Lewis, to manufacture a portable manure from the white fish, and a quantity of the fertilizer, containing, according to the analysis of Professor Norton, of Yale College, an equivalent of 12.42 per cent. of ammonia, was put into the market. For some reason the enterprise was abandoned. In 1851 or 1852 a second effort was made by a Frenchman, named De Molen, who had, in 1856, an establishment near the Straits of Bellisle, employing 150 men in manufacturing *taugrum*, or fish manure, from herrings or herring refuse, large quantities of which were shipped to France. Pettit & Green, in England, also engaged in the manufacture of fish manure, by a patent process, involving the use of sulphuric acid. By the more simple process of De Molen, and we believe of Lewis, the fish were boiled or steamed into a pasty mass, from which oil was then expressed and economized, and the cake or

pomace, after being dried in a current of hot air, was finally ground into powder. Fish manure has been somewhat extensively manufactured at Concarneau, in France, from the refuse of sardines and other fish; at Christiana, in Norway, and at Oldenburg, on the North Sea; the last principally from crabs, dried and ground, and thence called *granet guano*. More recently, commercial fish manure has been made in New Jersey from crabs, and called *cancerine*, and also by the Narragansett Company, in Rhode Island. The last of these made two manures, "fish guano," and "fish compost;" the former a concentrated article, made by "chemically treating, cooking, drying, and then grinding the fish to a powder;" the latter consisting of the cooked and dried fish mixed with equal quantities of street sweepings, and sold at \$2 per barrel of 200 pounds. Each barrel of the latter contained the desiccated organic matter of two barrels of fish, with a variable amount of the fertilizing salts of ammonia, potash, lime, or their elements. In 1860 New London County, Connecticut, returned 31,000 bushels of fish guano, made at an average price of eighteen cents per bushel, and 2,120 barrels of oil from the same source, valued at about \$12 25 per barrel, or \$31,000 for the two articles.

MACKEREL.—The mackerel fishery has long been carried on from the seaports of Massachusetts. In 1770 the town of Scituate had upwards of 30 sail engaged in it. In May, 1828, Congress authorized special licenses to be granted to vessels in the mackerel fishery, in order to keep them separate from those in the cod fishery. When not otherwise employed, they were allowed to fish for cod, but could not claim the bounty allowed to cod fishermen. But the law has not been rigidly enforced. The first separate returns were not made until 1830, when the enrolled and licensed tonnage employed in the mackerel fishery of the United States was 39,973 tons, from which it had declined in 1841 to 11,321 tons. In 1850 this branch employed 58,111 tons of shipping, nearly one-half of which, or 26,327 tons, belonged to Barnstable County, Massachusetts. That county in 1836 had 206 vessels in the mackerel fishery, 98 of which belonged to Provincetown. The State in 1855 had engaged in the cod and mackerel fisheries 1,145 vessels, measuring 77,936 tons, and employing 10,551 men and a capital of \$3,696,436.

The quantity of pickled fish, chiefly mackerel and herring, exported from the United States in 1790 was 36,804 barrels, valued at \$113,165. In 1831 the quantity so exported was 91,787 barrels, 8,594 kegs, worth altogether \$304,441. The mackerel fishery of Massachusetts reached its maximum productiveness in the year last mentioned, when the number of barrels inspected in the State was 383,559. During the next ten years it regularly declined to 50,992 barrels in 1840, which was the lowest production of any one year. The total product of pickled fish in the United States in that year was 472,359½ barrels, and the quantities exported were 42,274 barrels and 2,252 kegs, worth \$179,106. By the census of 1850 Massachusetts returned 236,468 barrels of mackerel taken, Maine 12,681,

and New Hampshire 1,096 barrels, of which the total exports were 22,551 barrels, valued at \$83,759. This branch of the fishery is subject to great fluctuations, and we consequently find the product of the mackerel fishery in Massachusetts in 1860 only reached 111,375 barrels, chiefly produced in Essex and Barnstable counties. The returns for Maine in that year footed up 23,653 barrels. Bristol County, Rhode Island, returned 15,000 barrels of mackerel.

THE SALMON FISHERY.—The waters of North America contain a greater number of species of the trout family (*Salmonides*) than those of any other country. They are all esteemed for their delicacy of flesh, and are found in nearly all of our northern rivers and lakes. The largest and most valuable of the several genera is the common or true salmon, (*Salmo salar*.) This beautiful fish, which is the delight of the angler, lives ten or twelve years, and in Europe often attains great size—the largest specimen on record having weighed 83 pounds. The largest salmon taken in our rivers have not exceeded 70 pounds—the average weight being considerably less, or from 12 to 20 pounds. A British author has ranked the salmon fishery next to agriculture as a source of food—an estimate less applicable to our country than to Scotland, the rivers of which alone have been computed to furnish salmon to the annual value of \$750,000. This fish never enters the Mediterranean, but is found on the coast of Europe, from the Bay of Biscay to Spitzbergen. The salmon is taken in most of the rivers and estuaries of North America, from Greenland to the Kennebec, in Maine, on the eastern coast, and from the Columbia river northward, on the Pacific seaboard. It is found in all the tributaries of Lake Ontario, its further progress being arrested by the Falls of Niagara. It is very abundant in the Restigouche and the numerous other streams falling into the Bay de Chaleur, in the Saguenay, and all the rivers on the north of the St. Lawrence eastward to Labrador, and in the St. John's river and its tributaries below the grand falls. The St. John's furnishes nearly one-half of all the salmon brought to our markets, and its principal branch—the Aroostook—is the richest salmon fishery on the Atlantic coast. About 40,000 salmon were caught in the harbor of St. John in 1850, and shipped fresh in ice to Boston. From the British provinces the imports of pickled salmon in the same year were 8,287 barrels, valued at \$78,989, in addition to considerable quantities of smoked salmon. The cold and limpid waters of many of the streams of British America, and the absence on most of them of dams, mills, steamboats, and other improvements, invite the presence of the salmon, which is a timid fish, and quickly forsakes its accustomed haunts when disturbed. For this reason these fish have now nearly forsaken the Merrimack, the Cumberland, the Thames, the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, and other Atlantic rivers of the United States in which they were formerly found and taken in considerable numbers. Few are now caught south of the Kennebec. In 1818, 2,381 barrels of salmon were in-

spected in Massachusetts. They were formerly so abundant in the Connecticut that it is said one shad was considered equal in value to three salmon, and the day laborer stipulated that salmon should be served to him only four days in the week!

The domestic salmon fishery of the United States is at present confined principally to the rivers of Maine and those of the Pacific States.

The total value of the salmon caught in Maine at the present time is estimated by one of the principal dealers at \$16,000 per annum, about three-fourths of which is supposed to be taken in the Penobscot, chiefly in weirs, and from April to August, inclusive. Bangor and Bucksport are the principal seats of this fishery. The average size of the salmon is 13 pounds, and the average price 20 to 25 cents per pound. Fresh salmon, in our eastern markets, have often been sold in the first of the season as high as \$1 per pound, and when plentiful, at other seasons, sometimes as low as 8 or 10 cents per pound.

The salmon fisheries of California are principally carried on upon the Sacramento and Eel rivers, though other rivers of the State abound in salmon. On the Sacramento, for a distance of fifty miles, extending south, from a point ten miles north of Sacramento city, during five months, from February to April, and from October to November, inclusive, in 1857, the catch was estimated at 200,000 salmon, of the average weight of 17 pounds, or an aggregate of 3,400,000 pounds, worth, at five cents per pound, \$170,000. The amount of salmon packed in the same season, exclusive of fresh and smoked sent to market, was 1,500 barrels. The Eel river fishery, which yields salmon of superior quality and size, weighing 60 to 70 pounds, produced in September and October of that year 2,000 barrels of cured fish, besides 50,000 pounds smoked for home consumption, principally in the northern mines. These fish are shipped to Australia, China, the Sandwich Islands, and to New York, and sold at remunerative prices. The exports from the State in 1857 consisted of 77 hogsheads, 1,745 barrels, and 608 packages.* The State returns of 1860 were from seven establishments, averaging ten hands each, and together employing a capital of \$17,500, the annual product being \$18,940, an amount probably below the actual value of this fishery.

WHITE FISH.—The celebrated white fish of the Northern lakes belongs to a genus (*Coregonus*) of the salmonidæ, in which are included many species found in our own lakes and those further north, as well as in Northern Europe. One of these (*C. Otsego*) is caught in the lakes of New York, where it is called Otsego bass. The white fish has been prized for its excellence since the early explorations of the French in the lake regions of the northwest. Michigan, on account of the extent of the lake shore of its two peninsulas, enjoys a valuable source of wealth in her white fishery, which has grown rapidly, but is still in its infancy. The American Fur Com-

* California State Register for 1857.

pany many years ago engaged in the fish trade in this region. The quantities of fish shipped from the upper lakes in 1836 were 12,200 barrels; in 1837, 14,100 barrels; and in 1840, 32,005 barrels, principally white fish. At the average price of fish (\$8 per barrel) during the preceding five years at Detroit, the value in the latter year was \$246,040, added to the wealth of Michigan from this source. The census returns of 1850, which were doubtless defective, showed a catch in that State of 15,451 barrels of white fish. In 1860 the marshals reported 186 fishing establishments in Michigan—a greater number than any other State except Maine. Their united capital was \$209,769, and they employed 629 male and 63 female hands, the product of whose labor was 67,444 barrels of white fish, valued at \$456,117. In Wisconsin, the same year, 13,235 barrels of white fish and trout were taken by twelve fishing establishments, principally in Door County, and valued at \$93,374. New York reported white fish caught to the value of \$36,000, and Indiana to the value of \$22,500, making the total value of this fishery in the United States to be \$662,991. Many of these fish are also taken in the Pacific States. In addition to siskawits, Mackinaw trout, white fish, muskellunge, and pickerel, which are the most valuable, and are chiefly caught for pickling, the northern lakes abound in other fish, which are taken in less quantities. Among these are the pike or gar fish, roach, rock bass, white and black bass, mullet, bill fish, cat-fish, &c.

In consequence of the length of this paper, it will be necessary to defer its conclusion to our next.

ART. VI.—THE STATE OF MISSOURI.

IMMIGRANTS—MINERAL WEALTH—COAL, SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, PUBLIC LANDS, TOBACCO, HEMP, VINEYARDS, TIMBER, GRASSES, ETC., ETC.

THE STATE OF MISSOURI.—Missouri already begins to feel the generous impulses of freedom. A new life is invigorating the body politic. Enterprise, commerce, and manufactures are stimulated. Capital is flowing into the State. Corporations are forming for the development of our internal resources, and factories are rising for the fabrication of domestic materials. The unsunned wealth of our mines is coming to the light in larger quantities. The pleased earth is yielding to the hand of free labor a richer store of golden grain.

TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND IMMIGRANTS IN TWO MONTHS.—Processions of immigrant wagons are moving along all our highways. It is estimated that there was during last August and September an accession of 25,000 people to the population of the State. There is a fresh vitality in the very air of Missouri.

The domain which the Ordinance of Emancipation has restored to freedom is imperial. Missouri contains more than 67,000 square

miles. It is half as large again as New York, and more than *eight* times the size of Massachusetts. It would make a score of German principalities. Larger than England and Wales, or Scotland and Ireland, it is equal to one-third of the area of France. The State is 318 miles long by 280 broad. Of its 43,000,000 acres, at least 35,000,000 are valuable for the purpose of agriculture or mining.

The geographical advantages of Missouri are peerless. The State lies not only in the centre of the Mississippi Valley, but near the heart of the continent. Its metropolis, lying upon the Pacific Railroad, will be the half-way station between the oceans, and the great central emporium for the distribution of the productions of the Mississippi Valley. This destiny is inevitable. It is the glorious necessity of physical geography.

DELIGHTFUL CLIMATE.—Missouri lies between the parallels of 36 deg. 30 min. and 40 deg. 36 min. north latitude. The climate is the golden mean of the temperate zone. Its salubrity is proverbial. The summers are long and warm. The winters are generally short and mild. On the parallel of St. Louis the fall of snow is seldom more than two or three inches deep, and rarely remains on the ground a week. Sleigh-rides are unfrequent and unsatisfactory. They illustrate the pursuit of pleasure under difficulty. The balmy airs of the Indian summer temper to delightful softness the tardy approach of winter. The average temperature of November, 1865, was 46 deg. 39 min. Semi-tropic fruits mature in Southern Missouri, while the productions of higher latitudes flourish in the Northern portions of the State. The soil of the river-bottoms and rolling prairie is inexhaustibly fertile, and even the mining regions are capable of supporting a large agricultural population. The surface of Missouri is varied and undulating. Hills and mountains diversify and intersect the State. The copious streams which flow from these elevations fertilize the valleys, and afford a motive power which the level prairie can never supply. Missouri invites manufacturers to her borders, with the offer of rare facilities. If natural adaptation is any index of destiny, then this State will ultimately become the workshop of the Mississippi Valley.

Missouri is heavily wooded. Her forests contain fuel and timber amply sufficient to meet the wants of a population of 10,000,000.

The mineral wealth of the State is illimitable. Probably no equal area on the face of the globe surpasses Missouri in the richness and variety of her minerals. Her vaults are stored with almost every kind of ore which the arts of men require. The key to all this wealth is a spade. The lock which secures this treasure is earth—any man can pick it.

The State, though rent and scarred by convulsions, is restored to sanity and health. It is now ready to commence an unobstructed career of development. The motives of freedom, fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, wealth of minerals, facilities for commerce and manufactures, and ease of railroad and river transportation, are the material advantages which invite the capitalist, the tradesman, and

the artisan of every clime and nationality, to a home in Missouri, to a co-operation in the development of its measureless resources, and to an enriching participation in its prosperity.

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MILLION TONS OF COAL IN MISSOURI.—Coal underlies a large portion of Missouri. It has already been discovered in 30 counties. Beds of cannel coal, 45 feet thick, have been found. There are 160 square miles of coal in St. Louis county. The amount of coal in Cooper county has been estimated at 60,000,000 tons. Under every acre of Boone county there is supposed to be at least \$1,000 worth of coal. The deposits in the vicinity of Booneville cover an area of 2,000 square miles. The strata have a mean thickness of three feet, and are calculated to contain 60,000,000 tons of coal.

The following estimates are based upon the survey of Professor Swallow :

Counties.	Square Miles.	Mean Thickness.	Tons of Coal.
Andrew, Atchison, Buchanan, Holt, Platte, Chariton, Linn, Livingston, Macon, State of Missouri,	2,000.	{ 10 feet,	20,000,000,000
		{ if only 2 feet,	4,000,000,000
	1,500.	{ 12 feet,	18,000,000,000
		{ if only 4 feet,	6,000,000,000
	26,887.	{ 8 feet thick,	200,000,000,000
		{ if only 4 feet,	100,000,000,000

Upon this lowest estimate—which is more than 34,400,000,000 tons below the calculation of Professor Swallow—it would take, at 100,000 tons a day, more than 3,000 years, at 300 working days each, to exhaust the coal deposits of Missouri.

Iron abounds in different portions of Missouri, but the stupendous masses of almost solid iron found in St. Francois, Iron and Reynolds counties, dwarf the discoveries of other localities into insignificance. Before the blomaries of Iron-ton, the furnaces in other sections of the State must pale their ineffectual fires. The results of Dr. Litton's investigations have been often published, but perhaps the use for which this article is designed will justify their reproduction.

Shepherd Mountain is 660 feet high. The ore, which is magnetic and specular, contains a large per centage of pure iron. The height of Pilot Knob above the Mississippi River is 1,118 feet. Its base, 581 feet from the summit, is 360 acres. The iron is known to extend 440 feet below the surface. The upper section of 141 feet is judged to contain 14,000,000 tons of ore.

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF MISSOURI.—Missouri presents to the farmer those conditions of climate which are most favorable to husbandry. The cold of the Northern latitudes restricts the variety of production, and blockades communication with icy barriers. The heat of the South enervates energy and invites to indolence. Missouri enjoys the genial mean which permits the widest range of pro-

ducts and the full exercise of physical powers. The thermometrical record, kept at Jefferson Barracks—latitude 38 deg. 28 min., elevation 472 feet—shows that the mean annual temperature for twenty-six years is 55.46 deg. The highest monthly average is 85.80 deg., and the lowest 18.54 deg. The mean annual rain-fall is 37.83 inches. The thermal and hydal averages of the seasons are:

Spring, 56.15 degrees.....	10.56 inches.
Summer, 76.19 "	12.88 "
Autumn, 55.63 "	8.02 "
Winter, 33.85 "	6.37 "

It seems as though it would only be necessary to advertise these advantages of climate to induce agricultural emigrants to avail themselves of such a genial co-operation of nature.

SOIL SIX FEET DEEP.—Of the 35,000,000 acres of arable land in Missouri, 2,000,000 are the alluvial margins of rivers, and 20,000,000 high rolling prairie. The richness of this soil is practically inexhaustible. In bottoms the mold is sometimes 6 feet deep. Some farms, after bearing, without artificial fertilization, twenty-five successive crops, have yet failed to show any very material decrease in productiveness. The strength of the land and the length of the season permit *two* harvests to be gathered from the same field every year. Winter wheat or oats can always be succeeded by a crop of corn-fodder or Hungarian grass from the same ground. This is an advantage of material importance to small farmers. The composition of the soil varies with the geological formation. But the main elements—clay, lime, sand and vegetable mold—commixed in different proportions, form a rich marl or loam, which the facts of harvest prove to be highly fruitful. The following statistics, which are given by Parker, may, in some instances, largely exceed the average yield, but still they illustrate the possible productiveness of the soil:

	Pettis Co.	Lafayette Co.	Howard Co.	Holt Co.	Saline Co.
Wheat, bush. per acre.....	50	25	40	—	40
Corn, " "	100	100	100	125	100
Oats, " "	50	—	—	40	50
Potatoes, " "	150	—	—	—	300
Turnips, " "	—	—	—	—	400
Grapes, " "	100	—	—	—	—
Hemp, lbs. "	1,200	2,200	1,500	1,500	1,300
Tobacco, " "	800	800	2,000	—	1,200
Flax, " "	200	—	—	—	—
Hay, tons, "	2 or 3	2 or 3	—	—	*

These counties are not selected on account of superior fertility; they are taken as samples for the simple reason that I have not been able to procure recent returns from other counties. In some of these products the figures indicate a productiveness which is below the average of the richest districts. The table refers to special har-

* Timothy, 3; Clover, 4; Hungarian Grass, 5.

vests and farms, and does not aim to express the mean fertility of the several counties or of other years.

The *average* yield of wheat in Missouri is from fifteen to twenty-five bushels. Little facts are often suggestive of the fruitfulness of the soil. Sweet potatoes have been raised in Missouri which weighed ten pounds apiece. Apples and turnips have been exhibited at our fairs which measured respectively six and eight inches in diameter. Melons and pumpkins have been produced which attained the relative weights of forty and one hundred pounds. Corn sometimes reaches the height of sixteen feet, and sorghum eighteen feet. In good seasons, farmers occasionally cut four tons of hay to the acre. Of course the average in all these cases is much below these figures. These exceptional instances are cited to show what vegetable monsters the richness of the soil sometimes brings forth.

SIX MILLION ACRES OF LAND SUBJECT TO ENTRY IN MISSOURI.—Yet, notwithstanding this wonderful wealth of soil, more than 25,000,000 acres of land in Missouri are suffered to lie fallow. There are to-day 6,000,000 acres of unentered land in this State. Nearly all this land is rich in agricultural or mineral resources. Under the Homestead Law, 160 acres can be bought for \$18. Improved farms can be bought at from \$5 to \$30 an acre. In the interior agricultural labor commands from \$15 to \$25 a month.

The water of Missouri is abundant and healthful. Perennial springs and copious streams are found in every part of the State. The alluvium which the Mississippi holds in solution does not impair the salutary quality of its waters. The undulating surface of Missouri affords advantages of drainage and water power which are denied to level prairies. This is an important consideration. The necessity of thorough drainage to highly successful husbandry has been established, and the emigrant who would prefer the plains of other States to the gentle inequalities of Missouri would betray a costly ignorance of his own interests.

The products which thrive in Missouri are too numerous for separate enumeration. The list would be an inventory of the productions of the temperate zone. All the cereals grow with rank luxuriance. The soil is rich in the chemical elements of which the different grains are composed.

COTTON, HEMP, TOBACCO.—Cotton is produced in the Southern portion of the State. The amount per acre varies from 200 to 400 lbs. During the war it has been a very profitable crop.

Sorghum and Imphee are developing into a large interest. The main yield is from 120 to 350 gallons of juice per acre. By recent improvements in the process of manufacture, the saccharine matter can be economically crystallized or granulated. In a few years our demand for sugar and syrup will be largely met with articles of domestic production. No portion of these important vegetables is worthless. The leaves make excellent fodder, and the fibre of the stalk is manufactured into paper.

Hemp and tobacco are two of the main staples of Missouri. Equal to the best growth of Kentucky and Virginia, they are a vast source of wealth to the State. Few crops yield a larger profit. Missouri produces more than 45 per cent. of the hemp of the United States.

FRUIT CULTURE.—Missouri is admirably adapted to the culture of fruit. Apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, currants, strawberries, blackberries, quinces, apricots, and nectarines reach a rare size and delicacy of flavor. Trees and vines grow rapidly and bear largely. In Southern Missouri the winters are so mild that fruit-trees are seldom injured by the inclemency of the weather. The season, which, even in Northern Missouri, permits plowing by the middle of March, cannot be very severe or protracted. In open winter, farmers have not unfrequently done their plowing in December and January. In the genial climate of Missouri, the farmer may enjoy from May to November an uninterrupted succession of fresh fruits. Apples can be produced in illimitable quantities. The trees mature at least five years earlier than they do in New England. Peach trees continue to bear from 15 to 20 years, and apple-trees from 25 to 30 years. Two thousand bushels of peaches have been gathered from a single acre. Fruit culture is one of the most lucrative branches of husbandry in Missouri.

MISSOURI THE VINEYARD OF AMERICA.—Unless the prophecies of scientific men are false, and the obvious intentions of nature are thwarted, Missouri is destined to be the vineyard of America. There has been no elaborate investigation since the geological survey of Professor Swallow. But the familiarity of the facts which his researches developed does not diminish their truthfulness. It is estimated that there are in Southern Missouri 15,000,000 acres adapted to the culture of the grape. This land is situated 1,000 or 1,500 feet above the level of the ocean. Nature has in many localities molded the surface into terraces, as if on purpose to facilitate the labors of the vine-dresser. The composition of the soil is remarkably like that of the celebrated vinelands of Germany and France. Chemical analysis shows that the soil abounds in lime, soda, potash, magnesia, and phosphoric acid, and these are the principal elements which enter into the structure of the vine. The soil is dry and light, the air equable and comparatively vaporless, the water abundant and pure. These are the identical conditions under which the luscious vintages of the Old World attain their perfection.

The original cost of preparing a vineyard is \$350 per acre.

The annual cost of cultivating a vineyard is \$100 per acre.

The main yield of an acre is 250 gallons.

The value, at \$2 per gallon, \$500.

These figures exhibit a profit which is certainly ample enough to satisfy any reasonable expectation of gain. If we may be guided in our estimates by European statistics, the vinelands of Missouri are able to afford a pleasant and remunerative occupation to a popula-

tion triple the present census of the State, and to yield at least 1,000,000,000 gallons of wine. The physical structure of Southern Missouri is a prophecy of rich and delicious vintages, which the sagacious enterprise of our citizens should speedily fulfill.

ABUNDANT AND VALUABLE TIMBER.—Almost all the valuable varieties of forest trees abound in Missouri. The pine, oak, ash, elm, walnut, hickory, maple, gum, overcup, cottonwood, cypress, chestnut, sycamore, linn, beech, catalpa and tupelo are found in different portions of the State. The following table, taken from N. H. Parker's suggestive volume, shows the magnitude which some of these trees occasionally reach:

COUNTY.	TREE.	CIRCUM. IN FEET.	HEIGHT.
Howard.....	White Oak.....	28.....	100
Stoddard.....	Beech.....	18.....	120
Stoddard.....	Tupelo.....	30.....	120
Dunklin.....	Catalpa.....	10.....	90
Pemiscot.....	Elm.....	22.....	100
Pemiscot.....	Cypress.....	29.....	125
Cape Girardeau.....	Sweet Gum.....	15.....	130
Cape Girardeau.....	White Ash.....	18.....	110
Mississippi.....	Spanish Oak.....	28.....	110
Mississippi.....	Sycamore.....	43.....	—

The magnitude of these statements excites distrust. But I have no means of verifying them. If there is no error in the figures, the existence of such vegetable giants demonstrates a marvelous opulence of soil. Large districts of Southern Missouri are heavily covered with timber. For the purposes of ship-building, the live oak of this State is unsurpassed by any that grows in the Mississippi Valley. In the Southern counties there are millions of acres of valuable yellow pine which the hand of man has not touched. Some of these are four feet in diameter, and shoot up, "straight as an arrow," to the height of ninety feet. Energy might easily coin this timber into a fortune. Last year about \$50,000 worth of tar, rosin, and turpentine was brought to St. Louis from these pineries, and sold at a large advance upon the cost of manufacture.

RICHNESS OF HERBAGE—CATTLE GRAZE ALL WINTER IN MISSOURI.—The cultivation of grass brings the farmer liberal profits. Clover, timothy, redtop, Hungarian, and herdsgrass grow with spontaneous exuberance. The yield varies from one and a half to three tons an acre. The present price is \$15 a ton. In the culture of this crop, improved machinery enables the farmer to secure large returns for a slight outlay of labor. The richness of the herbage is favorable to stock-raising. Cattle occasionally graze all winter. It is seldom necessary to feed them more than two months and a half. The luxuriant verdure of our alluvial bottoms and loamy uplands could fatten enough cattle to supply the market of the country. The farmer has the advantage of the open prairie—his herds can feed at will upon its verdant pasturage. The stock-raiser adjacent to a prairie can make a profitable use of its vast commons. The hilly

region of Southern Missouri is admirably adapted to sheep-grazing. A moderate use of Missouri's ability to raise sheep would remove the necessity of importing into this country 100,000,000 pounds annually.

The mulberry-tree grows wild in Missouri; it is hardy and rank. With cultivation, it would answer every want of the silk-grower. The Chinese silk-worm, which has been imported from France and naturalized in this country, would find in the abundant foliage of the ailanthus-tree rich material for its glossy fabric. The softness of the climate is peculiarly favorable to the health and industry of this little manufacturer.

PROFIT OF RAISING THE CASTOR BEAN.—The castor bean richly repays the labor of cultivation. An acre will yield from 15 to 25 bushels. During the last four years the price has varied, in consequence of the activity of competition, from \$2.50 to \$5.50 a bushel. The oil factories of St. Louis alone are able to express 200,000 bushels of castor beans annually. At the present price of castor oil, the manufacturers can afford to pay from \$2.50 to \$3 a bushel.

Flax is a quick crop. In three months from the time of sowing, the farmer can receive the profits of his industry. The yield of an acre is from 15 to 22 bushels of flaxseed, or, when flax and barley are sown together, from 10 to 15 bushels of flaxseed, and from 16 to 22 bushels of barley. The average weight of straw to the acre is from 1½ to two tons. The crop is unfailing. Its certainty is a strong recommendation. The annual capacity of our St. Louis mills for the manufacture of linseed oil is 250,000 bushels. For the last three years, the seed has been worth about \$2.50 a bushel.

The millions of dollars which this country is now paying for imported castor and linseed oil ought to enrich American producers. The culture of flaxseed and the castor bean challenges the favorable attention of the farmers of Missouri.

The cultivation of the beet may yet expand into an important branch of Western agriculture. The enormous productiveness of this vegetable may enable it to enter into a profitable competition with cane in the manufacture of sugar.

MINERALS OF MISSOURI.—Missouri may safely challenge the world to produce its equal in the number, extent and value of its minerals. The immensity of its mineral wealth subjects even a truthful exposition to a suspicion of exaggeration. The sober calculations of geology seem to be mere figures of rhetoric. The imperfect explorations which have been made have disclosed the superiority, but not the full magnitude, of the metallic resources of Missouri. Some of the vaults of nature's bank have been opened, but the treasure is too vast to be counted. The earth has hoarded in its coffers an unminted and incalculable wealth. The inventory of the mineral resources of Missouri enumerates springs whose waters are impregnated with salt, sulphur, iron and petroleum, jasper, agate, chalcodony, vitreous sand, granite, marble, plastic and fire clays, metallic

paints, hydraulic cement, lithographic stone, limestone, mill and grind stone, fire-rock, kaolin, emory, plumbago, nickel, cobalt, zinc, copper, silver, gold, lead, coal and iron. Most of these minerals occur in quantities that are literally inexhaustible. In case of many of these articles, the mines and quarries of Missouri could easily supply the market of the world. If an incomplete geologic survey, and the rude efforts of unscientific miners, who have as yet scarcely touched the vast deposits of the State, have disclosed such results, we may justly expect far richer developments when an exhaustive investigation has been made, and systematic mining been extensively prosecuted.*

ART. VII.—THE FREEDMEN.

[We do not agree with Mr. Fitzhugh either as to the value of white foreign labor at the South, or as to any possible danger to the Freedmen after the removal of the troops and negro Bureaux. Mr. Fitzhugh has remained in Virginia, whilst we have traveled over the entire South. In sections of country where there are and have been no troops, our experience invariably is, that the negro is happier and better, and *sustains the most amicable relations with the whites*. Still it would be well to make our police system perfect for whites and blacks. The idea of negroes going to the North is more fanciful than real. Its climate, as statistics show, is in the long run fatal to him. Let the negro, however, be guarded in all things. Everybody at the South favors and our interests dictate this.—EDITOR.]

LIGHT and hope are breaking in upon us from several sources. The wise, cautious, and conciliatory proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention; the consummate statesmanship, the wonderful prudence, sagacity, and whole-souled nationality, the courage and the magnanimity displayed by the President, and the movement by a large and respectable portion of Northern officers and soldiers to hold a Convention, one of whose objects will be to urge the speedy restoration of the Union, gives us of the South the assurance that at no distant day the disabilities to which we are subjected will be removed, and that the cruel and tyrannical rule of radicalism will cease, by the expulsion of radicals from office. But our social and industrial difficulties are of more serious and vital consequence than our political disabilities, and out of these difficulties we begin to see our only exodus; one which, if not satisfactory, may by prudence, foresight, and rigid, yet just and humane rule, be rendered endurable. We cannot procure white laborers from Europe, and if we could, they would be a nuisance rather than advantage to us. The experiments made within the last year with this sort of labor prove that it is wholly unreliable, infinitely more worthless, than that of Freedmen. The native whites of the South are either landowners or tenants, or engaged in some occupation more respectable and more profitable than that of hired field hands. They very rarely hire themselves for such labor,

* The above was prepared by Mr. Waterhouse for Bradstreet's admirable St. Louis Trade Circular.

and then only for a few days or weeks. No crop whatever can be made, gathered and sent to market with such laborers. Our sole reliance hereafter, as heretofore, for farm hands, must be on the negroes. The two races at the South now understand fully their relations to each other, and must make the most of those relations. They are mutually dependent. The Freedmen cannot live without the products of the land, and can, in general, only procure those products by laboring for white landowners, for Freedmen own very little land. But lands are wholly unproductive without labor, and hence landowners (at least the owners of large tracts, such as usually constitute farms in the South) are as dependent on the Freedmen for their labor as they are on the landowners for employment, either as tenants or hired hands. Both the Whites and the Freedmen seeing this state of things, should, and probably will, with a view to their mutual interest, cultivate kindly and amicable relations, and frown down all attempts to excite antipathy and hostility of race between them. Dependent as we are, and shall continue to be, on negro labor, we should by kind and humane treatment, coupled with exact and rigid discipline, do all in our power to keep them among us, to improve their morals and their intelligence, and to multiply their numbers. Some of them will acquire independent properties, and become useful, moral, intelligent, and respectable citizens; for the avenues to wealth are equally open to them as to the whites. The example of such will be an incentive to all to diligent industry and provident habits. On the other hand, severe penal laws, rigidly enforced, applying equally to blacks and whites, will deter most of them from crime. More of the whites than formerly will be demoralized by association with the vicious portion of the Freedmen, and the Freedmen, having no masters to enforce morality among them, will, unless checked by many and severe penal laws, become much more immoral and vicious than when in a state of slavery. Our criminal codes, applying equally to blacks and whites, must be revised, increased in severity, and rigidly and inexorably enforced by our courts and juries. Vagrant laws deserve especial attention, revision and enforcement. Punish the Freedmen in all cases for criminal conduct, and encourage them by kind, humane, attentive and liberal treatment when they behave well, and it is quite possible we may make them as good laborers as the white workingmen of Europe or the North. When the Federal troops and the Freedmen's Bureau are withdrawn from the South, the negroes will be left in a state of great apprehension and alarm. Many of them, trusting to the protection of those troops and of that Bureau, have been guilty of great insolence and wrongs to our white citizens, and they fear that when they are removed the whites will visit indiscriminate punishment and revenge on the whole race. It will be our first and most imperative duty to let "by-gones be by-gones," to recollect that under the exultation of newly-acquired liberty, with Federal armies, and a Federal press and Congress to back and uphold them, boastful insolence and insubordination on their parts were

quite natural. White Freedmen, similarly circumstanced, would have acted much worse. The negroes are, even now, behaving far better than the liberated serfs of England behaved for centuries after their manumission. Most of them were nomadic banditti, hordes of vagabonds, beggars, thieves, robbers, and murderers, up to the time of the Tudors. There is quite a large area of land in grain and cotton now in the South. The crops look well, and have been cultivated chiefly by Freedmen. They will work better in the future if we treat them properly. The collisions between the races, for the last year, have been brought on in all instances by vicious and turbulent negroes. Such will not be the case after the Federal troops are removed. The danger then of collisions and massacre will arise from vicious whites, who will attack the negroes because they think them defenceless, or from whites who suffered injury and insult from the blacks during the occupation of the country by the Federals. We must have a strong police force of prudent, discreet men, in the towns and in the country, to take the place of the Federal troops so soon as they are withdrawn; and it must be the especial duty of this police to prevent the whites from wreaking vengeance, however deserved, on the blacks; for by so doing, the negroes might be driven to desperation, and a war of races might arise more terrible than the war through which we have just passed. The laborers of a country are its only valuable property, for nothing possesses value except labor, and its results. Take away labor, and houses and lands, and everything else, cease to have exchangeable value. In very truth, the laborers of a country are its only real capital, for that which has no value is not capital. It makes no difference whether the laborers be (so-called) free, or slaves. All laborers are alike slaves. The free, slaves to skill and capital; the slaves, to individual masters. Now we have few laborers at the South except the Freedmen. If we exterminate them, or drive them off by bad treatment, most of our lands would not be worth a rush. We take good care of other live stock, and human laborers are the most valuable of all live stock. We should take the best care of them, and endeavor to increase their numbers. Mr. Greeley says, "Every imported white laborer is worth a thousand dollars to the North." In the South, one negro laborer, be he free or not, is worth three white laborers. We must not only have a strong police, and jails, &c., to punish the vagrant and vicious negroes, but we must also have charitable institutions, and good poor-houses, to take care of the weak, aged and infirm negroes. We must dismiss at once all hatred of a race which, if well treated, will go far to support us all. In the Island of Barbadoes, where all the lands are arable, and all owned by the whites, the liberated negroes were compelled to work harder, and to produce more, after liberation than when slaves. They are now more valuable to the land-owners as (so-called) free laborers than they were as slaves. Such is the case now in the Cotton States with those who, before the war, relied on hired negro labor. Negroes hire now for much less than

before the war, although cotton sells for almost three times as much now as then. If the negroes behave well, the profits to the landowner cannot be less than double the profits made from hired labor before the war. If so, lands in the Cotton States will, in time, be worth double as much as before the war, and will continue at that value so long as negroes hire as low as now, and cotton commands its present price. Indeed, we learned from a gentleman from Red River that lands have rented there as high as fifteen to twenty dollars per acre. With negro hire at fifteen dollars per month, and cotton at thirty cents a pound, good land there should rent for more than that amount.

In England they fully understand the value of workingmen, and undertook at once to give a liberal support to some half million of them, thrown out of employment by the American war, and consequent dearth of cotton. Emigration to America and Australia is rendering labor scarce and high in England, and emigration to the North-west is having the same effect at the North-east. Negroes have, few of them, means or intelligence sufficient to enable them to emigrate, but contractors and other employers are carrying off large numbers of them to New York and other Northern States. They are far more reliable, tractable, docile, and efficient laborers on canals and railroads, in coal and iron mines, and for all coarse common labor than whites, and may readily be hired for a third less than whites. If we do not speedily enact such laws and make such other provisions as shall satisfy the Freedmen that after the withdrawal of the Federal forces they will be safe, secure, and well treated here, there will be a panic and stampede among them, and they will go off to the North with the Federal troops. Northern capitalists will readily pay their passage. They want cheap, obedient, tractable labor; and, we have no doubt, will extend to them the (nominal) right of suffrage, in order to allure them northwards. Like all laborers, they will have to vote as their bosses and landlords require. They stand the climate of the North quite as well as white men. Man is an ubiquitous animal. Indians, Mongolians, Whites, and Negroes are equally healthy under the Equator and within the Arctic circle. The Yankees set our negroes free, and are now stealing them. We must look to this and guard against it.

We know from frequent conversations with many of the Freedmen that they are in great dread of cruel persecution, and even of massacre from the whites, so soon as the Federal forces are removed. They know many are angry with them merely on account of their emancipation; many more, because hundreds of thousands of them bore arms against their masters; and still more, because of the insolence of many of the Freedmen since our country has been occupied by the Federals. They know that they have given many and heavy causes of offence, and tremble at the thought of a terrible retribution. As Christians, as civilized and humane men, as chivalrous and magnanimous Southrons, let us freely and cordially forgive the poor ignorant creatures for all the

past. They knew not what they did, and were mere puppets in the hands of our cruel, savage enemies. They were continually urged to servile insurrection and massacre of their masters, yet wonderful to tell, no attempts of the kind were made by them. They were satisfied, contented, and happy, and had liberty forced upon them by men who hated alike the blacks and the whites of the South. If considerations of Christianity, honor, and humanity did not suffice to induce us to guarantee to them forgiveness, protection, and kind treatment, then, looking to mere selfish interests and pecuniary considerations, and we shall find abundant reasons for at once adopting such measures as shall make them feel safe and secure in the future. The danger we shall have to apprehend after the withdrawal of the Federal troops will arise from the ruined, insulted, and exasperated whites, not directly at least from the Freedmen; but an efficient police and well-organized militia will remove all cause of danger arising from the misconduct of either race.

The Freedmen are with us, and will remain with us if we treat them with justice and humanity. If we frighten them off we shall be without labor, and our ruin will then be complete.

ART. VIII.—THE AGE OF REASON AND RADICALISM.

HUME was not only the boldest, but the ablest and most ingenious reasoner of modern times. If he believed his own speculative reasoning, he was less of the philosopher than any sane man who ever lived, except, perhaps, his compeer, Bishop Berkeley; less of a philosopher, because he excluded all faith or belief not founded on reason. The result was, that he and the Bishop, by the most unanswerable ratiocination, demonstrated that there is no material world, no earth, no moon, no sun, no stars, no bodily existence. Employing reason untrammelled and unrestricted by faith, they very logically reduced all existence, the universe itself, to a parcel of vagrant, undefinable, incomprehensible ideas. Nobody ever did, nor, from the nature of our being, ever possibly can, believe in the conclusions at which they so logically arrived; for belief in our own physical existence, and of an extraneous material world, is intuitive, instinctive, necessitous, and was never doubted for a moment by either Hume or Berkeley, any more than by the rest of mankind.

It is no objection whatever to belief in the existence of a material world that such belief is contrary to reason. Hume would tell us so if he were living. Nor can it be any objection to belief in miracles, that such faith or belief is contrary to reason. Hume having demonstrated that reason is an utterly deceptive, false and fallacious guide in the pursuit of truth, has thereby amply refuted his reasoning, to show that all miracles are incredible. Grant that he has shown that miracles are contrary to reason, he has not thereby advanced an inch in proving that they are untrue or unworthy of

belief, any more than he has induced doubt of the existence of a material world, by demonstrating that such a world is unreasonable, and therefore false.

We do not write this essay to prove the truth of the Christian miracles; that has often been done by abler pens than ours. Our object is to show the danger of relying too much on reason in the pursuit of truth. To reason is part of our moral and intellectual nature; but our reasoning, our speculations, our theories, should always be limited and restricted in some degree by faith, authority, precedent, prescription, experience, and common sense. Reason not thus limited, balanced, and counterpoised, always leads to false, and often to dangerous, conclusions. Whatever is purely and only reasonable is false. To arrive at correct practical conclusions, we must combine faith with reason. But reason restricted by faith ceases to be mere reason. We therefore repeat what we have often before maintained, "that whatever is reasonable is false." All the sages and philosophers, from the days of Socrates and Solomon to those of Hume, had seen, felt, and lamented that reason would not conduct to truth. Hume has demonstrated by the "*reductio ad absurdum*" what other philosophers only saw and felt.

Faith and reason are the two great antinomies that, by their opposing and concurrent forces, control and govern the moral world. Excess of either is noxious and dangerous. But we live in the age of reason, of bold and rash speculation. Every bloody revolution in Christendom, as well in Church as in State, for the last three hundred years, has been brought about by following the too often deceptive guide of reason. And reason now, except in the South, is everywhere busily at work in undermining and upsetting all laws, governments, faiths and institutions, with no visible results except the shedding of blood, and the rapid and vast increase of pauperism.

The banner of faith went down when the South was conquered, and we expect, ere long, we shall have a Reign of Terror and a Goddess of Reason throughout Christendom.

ART. IX.—THE COTTON SUPPLY.

NEXT to the political questions growing out of our late war and the conflicting feelings and interests of sections and parties, the unsettled condition of which have placed us in a lamentable state of uncertainty and apprehension for the future, we know of no one subject upon which so many of our countrymen are at this time interested as upon that of the immediate future of the supply of what *was* the great Southern product, and yet it is the only hope of its planters to fill their depleted pockets, besides being a matter of deep interest as well to those whose spindles and looms are hoarding wealth for their owners by its manufacture, as to those whose business it is

to carry their products into every nook and corner of the globe for sale and consumption. We therefore propose to give some statistical information as well as some suggestions upon this question which have occurred to us upon a tolerably close investigation, and which we hope may be of interest. And we are the more readily induced to do this from the fact, that either from the want of access to its sources, or from the indisposition to undertake the labor of the task, but comparatively few persons, even among those interested, are as well informed upon the subject as they would desire, or as their interests should prompt them to be. Of course no one can recur to the question without at once seeing its difficulties; and we must premise our statements by saying that accuracy in most cases is impossible, and that we only pretend to as great an approximation to the facts as is possible from the past history and the present uncertainty of our subject.

Demand and supply being relative terms, the first inquiry to be settled must be in reference to the former. We propose, then, first to arrive at the probable amount of cotton which will be required to supply the demand of the manufacturers of our own country and of Europe, leaving out of question those of other countries, as they are comparatively unimportant, and cannot affect the question. Of course this can only be done by approximation, though we think that the statistics of former years give us data from which this approximation may be very closely made. It seems to us that the fairest mode of making this estimate will be to take the quantity required to supply this demand for manufacturing purposes during some year immediately preceding our civil war, and add thereto such an amount as the increased requirements of trade, from the increase in the wealth and population of the world, will reasonably warrant. We shall therefore take such statistical information from the reports of the year 1859 as will show the quantity of the raw material required and consumed by these manufacturers during that year. We take this year in preference to 1860, because the information for that year to be gathered from the statistics of Great Britain, as well as of other countries, upon this subject seem to us fuller and more reliable. At least we have been able to meet with none for the year 1860 which seem so satisfactory.

The following table will show the amount of cotton from our Southern States for consumption by the various countries of Europe during the year 1859:

Great Britain.....	2,086,341 bales.
France.....	452,000 "
Belgium.....	38,000 "
Holland.....	62,000 "
Germany.....	146,000 "
Trieste.....	31,000 "
Genoa.....	41,000 "
Spain.....	109,000 "
Total.....	2,965,341

Besides this amount from the United States, there were imported

from other countries—East Indies, Brazil, Egypt, &c.—771,000 bales.

During the same period the manufacturers of the Northern States took of the South 730,000 bales, to which must be added 120,000 bales retained by the South for home consumption, making an aggregate of 4,586,341 bales, of which, as will be seen, our Southern States furnished 3,815,341. Of the amount of stocks remaining on hand at the beginning of this year of the importations previously made we have no definite information; but we may fairly presume that the stocks on hand unconsumed and remaining over of the importations of '58 and '59 were so nearly equal as to authorize the estimate, from the foregoing figures, of the actual consumption in Europe and America during the year 1859 at least four and one-half millions of bales.

This estimate, however, of the amount required to supply the demand of 1859 is of course far from being equal to what would have been the present consumption had nothing in the mean time occurred to lessen the production and increase the price, both of the raw material and its manufactured products. It is a matter of astonishment with what rapidity this demand for and consumption of cotton and cotton goods steadily increased with each year during the half century and more immediately preceding the year 1861, more than doubling during some of the decennial periods of that time, and keeping full pace with the supply; the imports of Great Britain, for instance, in 1860 more than doubling those of 1850, while the actual amount used in manufacturing in that kingdom had also increased one hundred per cent. Strange as it may seem, the imports from all quarters of the same country were very nearly fifteen times as great in 1860 as in 1821. From this we may infer that, had nothing occurred from 1860 to the present time to diminish the supply, and consequently increase its price, the consumption in 1870 would be nearly or quite double that of 1860. We have no reason for supposing that the increased demand would not have continued during these latter ten years with the same rapidity as during those from 1850 to 1860, there having been no other period of equal length in the history of the world in which both population and wealth have more rapidly increased than from 1860 to the present time. This rapid increase in the demand is well illustrated also by the census of the Southern States compared with that of 1860, the production of the latter year having been nearly twice that of the former, and the market value of cotton higher, showing that the supply, although so greatly increased, had not kept pace with the demand.

This increase in the demand for any series of years during the last quarter of a century will be found, upon investigation, to have been nearly at the rate of ten per cent. from year to year; and, as before stated, as we have no statement of the whole amount required for 1860, so reliable as that for 1859, we prefer making the estimate for the European demand, from that before given for the last-men-

tioned year by this mode of calculation, making the amount required for 1860 upwards of four millions bales. The correctness of this method of calculation, and its results, is confirmed by the fact that the total imports of Great Britain in 1860 were very nearly one-tenth more than in 1859, and corresponds with a recent statement which we have seen, giving the number of pounds taken by the whole of Europe in that year at 1,797,400, or about 4,000,000 bales—the whole importation for 1859, as before seen, having been 3,736,341 bales. It is also shown that the production in the Southern States, then the almost sole producers of the staple, was correspondingly increased, the market price remaining about the same.

Had the demand and supply continued to increase from 1860 as in former years, which doubtless would have been the case but for the intervention of our war, the total consumption by the European and American manufacturers alone would have amounted in 1867 to very nearly eight millions bales, purchased probably at a higher price than in 1860.

This then is the amount, we take it, which would have been required for the manufacturers of these countries had the supply increased correspondingly with the population and wealth of the world, and had no civil troubles occurred in our Union, but for which latter cause this increased supply, and perhaps more, would have been produced. It is well known, however, that the increase of the price of any article of commerce will diminish its consumption, and neither cotton nor cotton goods are an exception to this rule. But what ratio this decrease in the consumption will bear to the increase of price can be fixed by no certain rule. We know that the consumption of the necessaries of life will be less affected by such increase in price than that of such commodities with the use of which we can more easily dispense. Among the former class we must now, beyond doubt, class cotton goods, which have become almost as indispensable to the human family as the very food which sustains life. Be this as it may, it cannot be denied that the increase of price will, to some extent, diminish the inclination as well as the ability to buy and consume cotton goods, and will to that extent diminish the demand for the raw material.

Assuming, as before stated, that the increase of the wealth and population of the world would have required, all other things being equal, a much larger amount of cotton goods now than formerly, and having, from the experience of former years, shown that had nothing intervened to lessen the demand, it would have required the manufacture of something like eight millions of bales; if we further assume that the increased price will diminish the demand 25 per cent., which we think is a liberal allowance, we shall have between five and six millions of bales as the probable number which will be required by the looms of Europe and America for the present cotton year, beginning the 1st of September, 1866. In round numbers we will suppose this number to be five and one-half millions, of which, according to the opinions of manufacturers, the Northern States will

take 1,250,000; and from the present indications of enterprise and improvement in the Southern States in the direction of cotton factories, that section will probably require some 250,000; leaving a balance for Europe of 4,000,000, which, as before shown, was about the amount of consumption there in 1860;* Great Britain alone taking for actual consumption over two and a half millions bales.

Having thus settled as satisfactorily as possible the demand which is likely to exist, which we have only pretended to do, as before stated, by approximation, the question which next arises is, from whence and to what extent this demand is likely to be supplied; and here, again, we are left in a great measure to conjecture. Fortunately, however, we are not without information upon this point, upon which to base, as we think, a very satisfactory opinion.

Though our Southern States, by reason of the ordeal through which they have recently passed, do not, as formerly, enjoy the almost exclusive monopoly of furnishing to the world the supply of the raw material required for manufacture and commerce, yet it is well known that even now this whole question of demand and supply depends upon their success or failure in the crop which is now being gathered for market. The experiment which is now being made under the new and changed condition of things to raise this essential staple of commerce is, as we know, being watched with the greatest interest in almost every quarter of the globe, and the importance attached to the result in the commercial world is shown by the extreme sensitiveness evinced in the fluctuations in its price, as the reports in regard to its success have been more or less favorable. These reports, in most cases, though professing to be entirely reliable, though generally made by interested parties, and in many cases without one particle of information on which to base them, have been as numerous and as varied as the days of the year, ranging from 800,000 to as much as 5,000,000 bales. Men have been paid to travel, and men who have not traveled have been paid to write up the number of bales which the South would certainly raise; and though some of them had never seen a cotton-field, hardly knew whether cotton grew on trees or on stalks, and seem to have had a confused idea that an acre of Arkansas mud was as prolific of cotton bales as an acre of Georgia sand of pea-nuts, have enlightened the world by profound calculations and suggestions on the subject; while, on the other hand, others form opposite motives, though we believe in many instances from honest mistake, have gone to the other extreme.

Between these extremes we think it not very difficult, at the present advance of the season, to strike the proper mean and to arrive at conclusions as to the amount likely to be produced with tolerable accuracy. Such have been the unfavorable circumstances from the commencement of the season that we believe now all extravagant

* We have seen, since writing this, the statement of a Liverpool correspondent of a commercial house in this country, which is, that 80,000 bales per week will be required by Europe for the next twelve months.

estimates have been abandoned, and the number of those who figure largely upon this question have grown to a very few. None, who are well informed, will now be found who will fix the amount to be expected at above two and a half millions of bales; while most of them write down a much smaller number as the probable yield. The latest estimate which we have seen is from the *Commercial Chronicle*, of Sept. 8th, which makes, as is stated, upon a "very careful examination," and "with unusual facilities for making inquiries," the following table:—

Texas,.....	450,000	Bales.
Alabama,.....	400,000	"
Louisiana,.....	250,000	"
Mississippi,.....	450,000	"
Georgia,.....	250,000	"
Arkansas,.....	190,000	"
South Carolina,.....	130,000	"
North Carolina,.....	70,000	"
Tennessee,.....	120,000	"
Florida,.....	45,000	"
Total,.....	2,355,000	Bales.

This is almost equal to the whole crop of 1850, and to one-half of the crop of 1859-'60, which latter was by far the most propitious season, all circumstances considered, which the South has ever had.

Though we regard these figures as more nearly correct than some others we have seen in Northern journals, which, of course, largely overshoot the mark, we cannot believe that the crop of the present season can possibly amount to even as much as is here stated. Admitting, as is generally stated, that three-fifths of the cotton-lands in cultivation in '59-'60 have been put in cotton in 1866, we cannot believe the yield will be as much as one-half of that of the former season, and we shall be greatly surprised should such be the result. The reasons for this opinion are too well known and too often urged to need any repetition here. The thousand and one misfortunes and difficulties which have unfortunately beset the planter from the very beginning in the inauguration of the "new system" have nearly driven him mad, and have induced many to abandon the enterprise in utter disgust, and in some instances with utter ruin.

We do not pretend to any uncommon facilities for knowing, or to any superior information, either from our own observation or that of others, though, having devoted careful attention to the subject from the beginning of the season, we have formed a positive opinion, based upon such facts as have come to our knowledge from reliable sources, as well as from our own travels and personal observation in some few of the principal cotton States; and this opinion, we may as well state, has been formed without any interest whatever to bias it, except that which we feel as the citizen of a Southern State, in having the exaggerated ideas upon the subject set right. With the facts before us, we are constrained to differ in our estimate from even the most moderate of those made by Northern manufacturers and

Northern journals, and which have been so sedulously transferred and pressed upon the other side of the Atlantic. We cannot believe, for instance, as in the statement just referred to, that the crop of Texas will amount to 500,000 bales, for we know that though the season in that State has been comparatively propitious, the overflows in the early part of the season of the principal streams, besides other contingencies of less consequence, have greatly curtailed the prospect there, and we cannot believe that the crop of this year will exceed that of 1860, which was only 405,000 bales. Besides, we see that the newspapers of that State give the yield at 300,000, and not more. We cannot believe that the crop of Mississippi can amount to 450,000 bales—nearly one-half the crop of '59-'60, and very nearly equal to the crop of 1850, because we are satisfied that only about one-half, or three-fifths, at the farthest, of the cotton lands of '59-'60 were this year planted; and we know that from excessive rain, drought, overflow and almost every other drawback imaginable, she has suffered more, perhaps, than any other State. We would sooner believe that her crop will not exceed 250,000 bales, but do not believe it will reach even that. In Arkansas, we are satisfied, from the best of information as well as from personal observation, that not more than 150,000 bales, at the outside, can be realized. Nor can we believe that in Louisiana, in which eight of the principal parishes were during several of the most important months of the season submerged, and in all of which the same difficulties have had to be encountered as in the other States, 250,000 bales, one-third more than the crop of 1850, will be secured. Satisfied as we are of the errors in regard to these four States, we can but believe that they are equally as great as to the rest. Our candid judgment is, that not more than one and a half million bales, at the farthest, can be depended upon from the South, even with a good season for the rest of the year and a late frost—the common opinion among the cotton-raisers themselves being that it will be a great deal less. But for fear that we may be as greatly mistaken as our Northern neighbors, we will assume that the production will amount to two millions of bales.

During the year 1865 the East Indies shipped to Great Britain 1,287,000 bales (amounting in weight to less than 1,000,000 American bales) of her short, rough, dirty staple. This, however was, the largest amount ever received from this quarter, being the effect of the stimulus given to its cultivation by the extraordinary prices prevailing. Even of this inferior article India, has according to all accounts, reached the extreme limit of her production. The *India Times* of June 11th says, "Not only is our crop certain to be smaller this year than last, but the supply from China and Bengal besides, from many of the experimental cotton grounds, stimulated by high prices, will be almost wholly withheld from the European market." This decline seems to be attributable mainly to the necessity for a rotation of crops required by the India soil, which, unlike ours, is unfit for raising cotton for more than one or two years in succession, and having been widely cultivated for the past few years in that

staple, has begun to refuse to make its accustomed yield. With our competition, India at once goes back to her former insignificance. Indeed, no matter what its production, such is the character of the staple that it will contribute but little to supply the demand, being only fit, as we understand, to mix in small proportions with American, and to be used in the manufacture of coarse yarns. Its value for manufacturing purposes may be known from the fact that whilst American cotton is bringing in the Liverpool market from 11*d.* to 17*d.*, the India staple is quoted at from 6*d.* to 11*d.* From this quarter Great Britain will probably receive during the twelve months from the 1st Sept., 1866, some 600,000 bales, most of which was at that date, as we see from recent English Cotton Circulars, at sea and likely to reach its destination before the beginning of the next year.

A recent writer for this REVIEW, who seems to have given attention to the subject of cotton production in the various countries where its culture has been attempted, estimates that we may depend upon Brazil for 130,000 bales, and upon Egypt for (probably) 300,000. In all other portions of the world where any attempt will be made to raise this crop the quantities produced will be so insignificant as to produce no effect upon the market, and so we leave out all conjectures in regard to them.

We may therefore sum up the quantity of the raw material of this year's growth, and which may be thrown into the market within the existing cotton year, as follows:—

Southern States of America,.....	2,000,000	Bales.
East Indies,.....	600,000	"
Brazil,.....	130,000	"
Egypt,.....	300,000	"
Total,.....	3,030,000	Bales.

To this it would at first sight appear that there should be added the stocks on hand on the first of September, 1866, the beginning of the cotton year, which might be put down at 250,000 bales, at all ports and in manufacturers' hands in the United States, and in Great Britain at 800,000 bales, of which about one-half is India cotton. But it must be borne in mind that we are only including the probable amount which will be consumed between the 1st September, '66, and the 1st September, '67. It would of course be erroneous not to allow in the calculation an amount of stock necessary to supply the wants of manufacturers from the 1st September, '67, to the beginning of the year 1868; as it is well known that the crop of the Southern States does not generally begin to reach the markets, and especially the European, until the beginning of the year. The India crop decreasing from year to year, and being, as before stated, of so inferior quality as to be almost entirely useless for cotton goods, can do but little towards supplying this want, and we may therefore take it for granted that there must necessarily be held on hand on the 1st September, 1867 very nearly, the amount now shown. Otherwise

the cotton-mills would be idle from that time to the end of the year, for want of the raw material. The present stock on hand (excluding that at sea, of course), amounting to about one million bales, may consequently, with propriety, be excluded from the amount of supply for the current cotton year. Thus it will be seen that, according to these estimates, the supply for the year just commenced will be some two million bales below the actual requirements of manufacturers, even upon the supposition that the product of our Southern States will amount to two million bales.

That our figures are accurate we do not pretend, of course; but that they approach as near the truth as they can be made to do, we believe. This question of supply must of course remain somewhat uncertain for some months to come. When the true state of facts is known, we feel convinced that it will be found that a great mistake has been made by those who so confidently predict large crops and a full supply, and who are holding back for a decline in the price. If our premises are nearly correct, it is an easy matter to foresee that so far from a decline, there must necessarily be an advance; to what extent it is of course impossible to tell. One thing, however, should be borne in mind, upon which, from our observation, even business men are sometimes liable to be mistaken; and that is, that the price of an article of consumption only advances in proportion as the supply diminishes. This, of course, is an egregious error. No one would contend for an instant that if the supply of flour should diminish to one-half the effect would be only to double its market value. Without any certain rule by which to work in such case, we might fairly presume that it would, instead, be quadrupled in value, and, *mutatis mutandis*, the same principle will hold good in other cases.

The causes which are depressing the price in the foreign market, and of course in our own, are explained in the recent circulars of Liverpool brokers. They are the stock on hand, amounting, as before stated, on the 1st September, to 800,000 bales; the amount (nearly 500,000 bales) of India cotton now at sea for the British market; the expected receipt of several hundred thousand bales during the Fall months from America; and lastly, and principally, the fact, that large amounts of cotton have been hypothecated to English bankers to secure advances during the recent stringency in the finances of that country, which are being forced upon the market to satisfy these advances, added to reports from America of large crops expected. The intimations in these circulars are plain, that these causes of depression will be merely temporary. The stock on hand will soon be consumed by the home and export demand, amounting now to some 70,000 bales per week. No more cotton is to be shipped from India for six months to come. The bankers will soon be satisfied, and there will be no further reason for urgent sales; added to which, it is more than probable that the English money market will soon become easy again, when the speculative demand will be revived. It is a significant fact, too, that on the 1st September there were at sea for the English market only 23,000 bales, and that

the whole number in transit, principally from India, was smaller than had been known for months before, being less than half a million.

The policy which should, under these circumstances, govern the course of Southern planters is plain. Where it is possible, let them by all means hold on to their crops until these causes of temporary depression have been removed, and especially until the extravagant reports of the large crops to be raised by them during this season have been corrected abroad. These reports have been industriously started and industriously propagated, from motives which are easily seen and understood. The game is being adroitly and systematically played, with many odds against the producer, whose toil and vexation entitle him to the stakes, and unless he is wary they will be snatched from him. Where stern necessity does not compel, let him rather prefer to count his bales than his greenbacks, until the propitious time shall come, and as sure as he lives he will reap a high reward for his labors. But if haste and hurry are to rule the market, it will become glutted, and he will get a mere pittance.

We think one thing, at least, will be conceded by all those who have had any experience in the cultivation of cotton; and that is, that unless those who make it can receive more remunerating prices than are now being paid, the production must rapidly decline; and none will be more ready to admit this than those who, having no knowledge of the mode of its cultivation, have blindly rushed into the field with visions of the golden harvest they were to reap. After deducting the three cents per pound tax, which of course must come out of the pockets of the producer, and other expenses incident to the shipment and sale of his cotton, but little is left to the planter as net gains at 30 cents per pound, which, by the way, is rather more than he can expect with the present market. The average quality will not be higher than what is styled in the market "low middling" or "good ordinary," for which, at the present rates, he could not expect more than 27 or 28 cents per pound, or about 20 cents net, which can be but barely more than the cost of production.

As was proposed, we have confined ourselves strictly to the question of demand and supply for the year commencing on the 1st September, 1866. It was not our intention to notice, in any way, the opinions prevailing in certain quarters, that a new and glorious era had been opened by recent events to cotton production in the South, and that the time is fast approaching when that section will send twenty bales to market where it now sends one; that in the place of the "wasteful" and "iniquitous" system of labor which has heretofore prevailed, we are to have the enlightened systems of the North and of Europe put in practice by thrifty, honest, intelligent and good-looking emigrants from those countries who are to swarm upon our hitherto half-tilled cotton-fields, and make our prairies, our hills and our forests alive with labor and white with expanding bolls; that, in short, the South is now to become the land where all the

weary and oppressed of the earth are to come to get rich and be happy by growing dollars where only cents grew before. These are visions of ignorance and diseased imagination. It is useless to attempt to combat them by argument or reason. Experience and time, the greatest and dearest of teachers, must do that. We will only remark in closing this short article, that unless some new system *does* take the place of the one now existing, the production of the country must greatly decrease, and that some of us may yet live to see the day when a pound of Southern cotton will be worth its weight in paper money, which, indeed, would be no new sight.

ART. X.—SKETCHES OF FOREIGN TRAVEL.

No. 5.

LONDON, OCTOBER 1ST, 1866.

DEAR REVIEW:—Next to Westminster Abbey, the most interesting object in London, to your correspondent, is "*The Tower*." Blot out the Tower from the records of the past, and English history would be lamentably incomplete, for in its traditions are the materials which go largely towards making up that history.

There is an immense mass of buildings which go generally by the name of "*The Tower*," but the chief feature of the pile, and that which stands godfather to the balance, is a great square structure about four stories high, with walls of solid stone fourteen feet thick, and massive towers shooting up at each of its four corners. It was built, we are informed, by *William the Conqueror*, in the year 1079, as a place of retreat in case the rebellious Saxons outdoors should grow too contumacious and strong. It is distinctively called the "*White Tower*," and is now used as an arsenal, and a store-house for every curious species of arm and armor peculiar to different ages and countries. There may be seen every weapon of offence or defence employed by every nation of the known world from the remotest to the present time.

On the ground floor, as we go in, are arranged about fifty horsemen, clothed in impenetrable panoply of chain armor and solid steel, and bristling pugnaciously with the different weapons peculiar to their several centuries. The *coup d'oeil* is positively startling. The effigies of the horses are so instinct with life, and the vizored figures astride so accurately personify the knightly images kindled in our minds by romance, that we are lifted, for the moment, out of our consciousness of the present, and transported into the life of dead centuries. But that history is aflame with the feats of arms and daring courage of those iron-clad riders, one would conclude they were rather a timid set, for their chief aim was obviously to keep from being hurt. In looking at those steel fortresses, frowning down from their horses, the spectator is puzzled to imagine how anybody could have been killed. A "monitor" does not seem more

impervious to successful attack. And yet, recent experience has shown, that even a "monitor" is not impregnable to an assailing prow, and this teaches us to realize how those grim warriors succumbed to the fierce impact of a battle-axe.

Along the staircase and first landing of the second story large collections of arms of foreign pattern are stored, and it is instructive to observe what admirable ingenuity man, even in his primitive condition, has exhibited for the effective taking off of his fellow-man. The same mechanical genius, in our worthy predecessors, directed in more peaceful channels, would have sensibly abridged that historical epoch known as the Dark Ages.

The most noticeable object in this armory is a cannon, carved by hand out of solid metal, and heavily ornamented with a variety of delicately wrought figures in *basso relievo*. It is the work of an Italian, who is said to have been thirty years engaged at it. The immense amount of labor obviously expended upon it makes it seem possible that even an industrious man might have required a hundred years to accomplish it. The cannon is about the size of our modern six-pounder, and does not materially differ from it in pattern.

Up another flight of stairs, and we enter a long room which is garnished with a small door let into the wall, about midway on the right-hand side. This door opens into a scowling little cell, just eight feet square. In this pent-up Utica of cimmerian gloom Sir Walter Raleigh was confined for fourteen years, by Elizabeth, that illustrious slip of decayed virginity. Save her own sister, of bloody memory, there is no other woman in English history who had such a cultivated taste for dabbling in noble blood, as that same carrot-headed vestal. Her affections were something like boils, for they generally ended by coming to a head.

While cribbed in the dungeon described, Sir Walter is said to have written his "History of the World." It was rather a droll ambition, on the whole, for a man who held by very uncertain tenure only eight feet square of the world.

The large room into which the cell opens is used, at present, as a magazine, in which are kept the various instruments of torture which plagued our venerable ancestors. There are the thumb-screws, the racks, the pincers, the boot, and the "scavenger's daughter;" the last of which is as unwholesome a looking contrivance as its name would imply. There also, in perfect keeping, is the block on which Anne Boelyn, Kate Howard, Lady Jane Grey and Sir Walter Raleigh were beheaded. The axe, too, which served on those occasions, is there, in thorough preservation. The block is dark with age, and polished with much handling. It retains very legible impressions of the strokes of the axe for the last three occasions on which it was used. There may be sermons in stones surely, for that stupid and senseless block is eloquent of many sermons.

"The Jewel Tower," which is reached by crossing the court-yard from the White Tower, is the place where the crown jewels are

kept. There, exposed in a glass case, the republican eye may view with modest awe the great diamonds from which royalty, on State occasions, is wont to borrow one of its stunning effects. About midway that part of the court-yard, east of the White Tower, is the spot where the scaffolds were erected on which the executions took place. No sign of its murderous antecedents now remains, and it looks as serene and pacific as if it had never known what it was to suck up innocent blood.

Some fifty yards from this, proceeding in an easterly direction, we approach the tower in which Anne Boleyn, Kate Howard, and Lady Jane Grey were at different times confined. The room is a small octagonal structure, with little recesses let into the solid stonework. These recesses were designed for sleeping-places, and very appropriate they were, for the hard fates they temporarily accommodated. Various inscriptions are carved on the walls by the many poor devils who only left them to ascend the scaffold outside. Some of the inscriptions are quotations from favorite authors, and others are original. Most of the latter are commonplace enough, but a few of them are full of touching pathos.

In another lofty tower which surmounts the immense gateway leading into the court-yard, I observed a woman with three little children playing around her. The spectacle was so thoroughly peaceful, tender, domestic, that I instinctively singled out the spot as one, at least, about which clung no butcherly memories. Imagine my shock of surprise when informed that this was, *par excellence*, the "*Bloody Tower*," the place where the infant sons of *Edward IV.* were murdered by order of Gloster. The sight of the spot brought irresistibly to mind those beautiful lines in *Richard III.*, in which the assassin pictures the sleeping aspect of the doomed children.

"The tyrannous and bloody act is done;
The most arch deed of piteous massacre,
That ever yet this land was guilty of,
Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this piece of ruthless butchery,
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children, in their death's sad story.
O thus, quoth Dighton, lay the gentle babes,—
Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms:
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which, in their summer beauty, kissed each other.
We smothered
The most replenished sweet work of nature
That, from the prime creation, e'er she fram'd."

Another spot to which the guide specially invoked my attention was the "*Devereux Tower*." It is so called from the fact that Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, a favorite of Elizabeth, was confined there up to the time of his tendering her his head. In nothing else did Elizabeth so satisfactorily vindicate her paternity, as in the ugly trick she fell into, of rewarding with the axe whoever had the

misfortune to excite her tenderness. A queen's love is doubtless a valuable commodity, but to pay for it with your head makes its proprietorship expensive.

Every inch of this venerable pile is historic, and to the student of English annals, few other places appeal so eloquently as "The Tower."

ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.—To one who has a taste for ornithology and zoology, these gardens hold out irresistible attractions. There are collected together, it is said, the most complete assortment of quadrupeds and birds that is to be seen anywhere else in the world. Asia, Africa, Europe, America, Japan, and all the discovered islands of the universe, have been put under contribution to supply this mammoth menagerie. The gardens in which it is lodged are very handsomely improved, and all the arrangements for the domiciliation of the beasts and birds seem to be governed by an admirable regard to taste and the comfort of the inhabitants.

Most of the animals were familiar to me, but some of them I had never enjoyed the honor of meeting before. Of the latter was a white peacock. Its general configuration seemed identical with that of the ordinary species which we have domesticated, but not a colored feather illustrated its body. From the nib of his beak to the tip of his tail he was as white as new-fallen snow. This modesty of plumage probably rendered his personal bearing comparatively unaffected, which contributed still further to disguise the fact that he was a peacock.

Among the new acquaintances I formed there were two varieties of fox. For the sake of an attenuated brother of mine, to whose ear the cry of a full pack by moonlight is the most tuneful orchestra in the world, I made a special note of the foxes. One is of a deep red color, as to the nether part of his person, with a vivid gray rim encircling his back. In size he is much larger than the red fox of America, but defers humbly to the latter in that crowning glory of the fox, the tail.

The other variety is of a uniform mouse color, and remarkably small; not larger, I should say, than an ordinary poodle. He has a splendid reddish-looking brush, and his ears, curious to relate, are larger than those of the white rabbit. He is called the "*fennec fox*," and is a native of Egypt. But for the caudal appendage, of which the veritable "molly hare" is indecorously deficient, one would rather infer it was a rabbit than a fox.

The queerest-looking animal in the collection is a creature standing perilously on two legs, and called the "weak-headed stork." A misnomer, it occurred to me, for his head was the only substantial thing about him. He is, perhaps, four feet high, with a huge bill in the shape of an alligator's jaws, and a head so preposterously large, that it is a standing miracle for his pipe-stem legs to uphold it. He seems to have a perfect confidence in the permanency of the miracle, for he stands his ground with as unfaltering a faith in the integrity of his legs, as if he had purchased a policy from a "limb-

assuring" company. I commend him to the tender consideration of your radical friends, for he is brought, I am informed, from the interior of Africa.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE.—To attempt to give anything like a fair notion of the Crystal Palace under a shorter dispensation than twenty reams of foolscap, would be a supreme exploit of madness. It is one of those wonderful repositories which have to be seen, and seen often, to acquire adequate conceptions of. I have devoted three days to it, and find that I have seen just enough to put me in a state of instructive confusion. The universe appears to have come forward voluntarily from the remotest antiquity, and deposited its choicest possessions there.

That which attracted me most in the Palace was the reproduction, in incarnate forms, of the various types of architecture which prevailed in the olden times. The half of one entire side of the immense structure is devoted to illustrations of the Egyptian, the Greek, the Moorish, the Assyrian, the Roman and the Byzantine architecture. These illustrations are expressed in what the Directors of the Palace denominate the Egyptian, the Greek, the Assyrian, the Roman, and the Byzantine courts, and the court of Alhambra. To the Alhambra, or Moorish court, I confess that all of my preferences award the palm. It so far surpasses in magnificence every rival style, and is so lacking in every principle of analogy with any other, that if you invite me to describe it, "I treat it as a conundrum, and give it up."

After wandering for hours through the mammoth repertoire, I strayed out into the surrounding gardens, actually to escape from the throng of curious things which solicited my tired eyes, and the army of novel impressions which attacked my worried consciousness. The gardens occupy about two hundred and fifty acres of ground, and in them I again found food for that mental dissatisfaction flowing from the contemplation of objects which soar above all efforts at description. I lay down on the green-sward, and looked at those fairy gardens, abreath with fountains, and lakes, and flowers, until my heart and eyes fairly ached with a sense of the beautiful.

Trusting that *your* heart nor eyes may ever ache from a more distressing cause, I remain truly yours,

CARTE BLANCHE.

ART. IX.—EMANCIPATION AND COTTON—THE TRIUMPH OF BRITISH POLICY.*

[The author of the present paper sends us a copy, with the request to publish it in the pages of the REVIEW. We believe that its careful perusal will effect good in the present warfare against Radical policy and measures, and commend it to the careful study of Conservative men North and South. It is from the pen of Prof. DAVID CHEISTY, author of "Cotton is King."]

EARLY MOVEMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN TO RETRIEVE HER LOSSES CONSEQUENT UPON WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

THE death-blow to cotton cultivation in the West Indies was given by the act abolishing the slave-trade. At the beginning of the present century the exports of cotton from these islands nearly equaled that from the United States—the one exporting 17,000,000 pounds, the other 17,780,000 pounds. But upon the prohibition of the slave-trade, 1808, and the consequent diminution of labor in the islands, its cultivation began to decline, so that by 1834, when the Emancipation Act went into operation, it had diminished to 2,296,525 pounds. This enormous decline in cotton culture in the West Indies was a source of great alarm to British manufacturers.

Emancipation was expected to remedy this great misfortune, on the theory held by the philanthropists, that the labor of the negroes, when free, would be much more productive than it had been while they were slaves. Upon this theory Parliament based its act for the abolition of West India slavery; and, as a consequence of this act, the English people confidently anticipated an enlarged production of all the commodities usually cultivated in the islands.

Even as late as 1839 this theory was still held as true, as appears from an address delivered in Boston by Mr. Scoble, a gentleman who had been Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was reported in *The Christian Watchman* of that year. Mr. Scoble had recently visited the West Indies, and professed to speak from actual observation. He represented the prosperity of the islands as on the increase, and this he "accounted for by saying that one freeman would do more than two slaves."

All this, it is now well understood, was mere bunkum, designed to influence the people of the United States to follow the example of England in abolishing slavery. Æsop would have illustrated the designs of Mr. Scoble by his fable of the fox that had lost his tail in the trap, and who urged upon a convention of foxes the great convenience he experienced in having that bushy appendage out of the way.

* The astute policy of France, equally with that of England, is marked in its emancipation of slavery.

Lacroix, in closing a speech in the National Convention of France, 1794, in seconding the proposition of Lavasseur, that the decree should at once be proclaimed abolishing slavery all over the territory of the Republic, thus gave utterance to the sentiments which governed the members in adopting that measure:

"Let this great example to the universe, let this principle, solemnly consecrated, re-echo in the hearts of the Africans in chains under English dominion; let them feel all the dignity of their being; let them arm themselves and come to augment the number of our brothers and votaries of universal liberty!"

The President having pronounced the abolition of slavery, Danton rose, amid the shouts of exultation that followed, and addressed the Convention. In closing he said:

"Citizens, to-day the Englishman is dead! [Loud applause.] Pitt and his plots are foiled! The English behold their commerce annihilated! France, which to this day, as it were, truncated her glory, at length resumes, in the eyes of astonished and submissive Europe, the preponderance which is due her through her principles, her energy, her soil, and her population. Activity, energy, generosity—but generosity directed by the torch of reason, and steered by the compass of principles—will insure you forever the gratitude of posterity."

And why this denunciation of England, and this sudden sympathy for the negro by these French orators and philanthropists? It is explained by the writer from whom we quote, M. Cochlin, of France. It had just been announced to the Convention that the English, then at war with France, had possessed themselves of Martinico and Guadeloupe, two of the French West India slave-holding colonies. The decree of emancipation, it was believed, would render the islands valueless to the English; and not this only, but that the slaves in the other British islands, acting under the new impulse, would throw off their chains, and thus deprive Great Britain of the basis of her prosperous commerce.

The year 1839, in which Mr. Scoble came over to instruct us as to the benefits of emancipation, found the West Indies exporting but 928,425 pounds of cotton, and the year 1840 but 427,529 pounds, as against 17,000,000 pounds exported in 1800. Cotton cultivation was about at an end in the British West Indies. The labor necessary for its production could not be commanded; and, even if it had been in sufficient abundance, prices had so fallen, in consequence of the immense production of the United States, then equaling, for export alone, 743,941,000 pounds that year, 1840, that attractive wages, it was said, could not be offered to the newly-emancipated blacks.

The American planter had the monopoly of the supply of cotton to the markets of the Christian world; and the West India planter, as far as he could command labor, chose to employ it in the production of sugar rather than upon cotton. This left the British manufacturer at the mercy of the slave-holder of the United States for his supplies of this commodity—a position that he chose not to occupy a moment longer than it could be avoided. We find, accordingly, that at the same time that Mr. Scoble was telling the American people about the increasing prosperity of the West Indies, and the greater efficiency of the free negro over the slave, a movement was set on foot in England to transfer the seat of cotton cultivation to the East Indies. George Thompson, Esq., the Abolitionist, was placed in the foreground in this movement, and during 1839, in a course of lectures, undertook to prove that all the elements of successful cotton cultivation existed in India, and that the English people might soon obtain their supplies of cotton from that country, and thus be enabled to repudiate that of the United States. The appeal was made to Parliament to extend a helping hand to cotton culture in the East Indies; and the object to be gained by the measure proposed was the emancipation of the slaves of the United States, by destroying the markets for cotton of their production. In one of his lectures Mr. Thompson exclaims:

"The battle-ground for the freedom of the world is on the plains of Hindostan. Yes, my friends, do justice to India; wave there the sceptre of justice, and the rod of oppression falls from the hands of the slave-holder in America; and the slave, swelling beyond the measure of his chains, stands disenthralled, a freeman and an acknowledged brother."

The introduction to the American edition of the lectures delivered by Mr. Thompson on that occasion, which was written by William Lloyd Garrison, contains the following sentences. They sufficiently indicate what were the anticipations of the advocates of that measure:

"If England can raise her own cotton in India at the paltry rate of a penny a pound, what inducement can she have to obtain her supplies from a rival nation, at a rate of six or eight times higher? It is stated that the East India free labor costs three pence a day—African slave labor two shillings; that upward of 800,000 bales of cotton are exported from the United States annually to England, and that the cotton trade of the United States with England amounts to the enormous sum of \$40,000,000 annually. Let that market be closed to this slave-holding republic, and its slave system must inevitably perish of starvation."

In pursuance of this policy, cotton-seed from the United States was sent to India, and experienced planters from Mississippi, at high salaries, were employed to superintend its cultivation: but the enterprise was not successful, and the Mississippians, after several years' experimenting, returned home to their own plantations.

The public are so fully informed on this subject, that the history of the enterprise need not be traced at large. Towards the close of the experiment the *London Times*, under the head of "Cotton in India," said:

"The one great element of American success—of American enterprise—can never, at least for many generations, be imparted to India. It is impossible to expect of Hindoos all that is achieved by citizens of the States. During the experiments to which we have alluded, an English plow was introduced into one of the provinces, and the natives were taught its superiority over their own clumsy machinery. They were at first astonished and delighted at its effects, but as soon as the agent's back was turned, they took it, painted it red, set it up on end and worshiped it."

But this attempt of Great Britain to secure her supplies of cotton from other sources than the United States does not stand alone. Seeing, as if by prophetic forecast, that the attempt to cultivate the better qualities of cotton in India

would prove a failure, a nearly simultaneous effort was made to extend its cultivation to Africa. The West Indies, as a field of cotton supply, seemed to be closed forever as a consequence of emancipation. It was the expectation of the British that the United States could be made to share the same fate by the success of Abolitionism, and that the monopoly of the American planter being thus destroyed, the price of cotton would necessarily rise, so that it could be grown and exported at a profit from more distant fields, but especially from her own tropical possessions.

The circumstances which gave rise to the attempt to make Africa a field of cotton production are of very great interest. The slave-trade had long been prosecuted with the utmost vigor. Great Britain, at the Assiento Treaty, 1713, had secured its monopoly to herself; and, on surrendering that monopoly, four years before its termination, had received, as a consideration from Spain, the sum of half a million of dollars! In 1798, the exports of slaves, chiefly to Brazil and Cuba, were 85,000 annually, and the number increased regularly until 1840, when the exports were 135,800. One exception exists. From 1830 to 1835 the annual exports were only 78,500.

England alone had expended nearly ninety millions of dollars in an attempt, without success, to suppress the traffic in slaves. The rapid increase of the cultivation of cotton in the United States, and the equally rapid increase of the exports of coffee from Brazil, and of sugar from Cuba, were truly alarming to her statesmen. The remedy proposed was to make all Africa a dependency of the British Crown, and to secure the deliverance of Africa by calling forth her own resources. The African Civilization Society was formed as the agent for accomplishing this work, and the Government, to promote the enterprise, fitted out three large iron steamers, at an expense of \$300,000, for the use of the company.

The ablest writers in the kingdom brought the whole weight of their influence to bear upon the question, so as to secure its success. Mr. McQueen, in speaking of the great things that England had already accomplished, and what she could yet achieve, exclaimed:

"Unfold the map of the world. We command the Ganges. Fortified at Bombay, the Indus is our own. Possessed of the islands in the mouth of the Persian Gulf, we command the outlets of Persia and the mouths of the Euphrates, and, consequently, of countries the cradle of the human race. We command at the Cape of Good Hope. Gibraltar and Malta belonging to us, we control the Mediterranean. Let us plant the British standard on the island of Socotora—upon the island of Fernando Po, and inland upon the banks of the Niger, and then we may say Asia and Africa, for all their productions and all their wants, are under our control. It is in our power. Nothing can prevent us."

But the magnificent scheme of the African Civilization Society proved an utter failure, and Britain saw no prospect of escaping from her position of dependence upon the United States for her supplies of cotton. The year 1844 rolled round, with no improvement in the condition of things; and Mr. McQueen again sounded the note of alarm, by reminding the English people of what they had been, and the changed circumstances in which they were now placed. He said:

"During the fearful struggle of a quarter of a century for her existence as a nation, against the power and resources of Europe, directed by the most intelligent but remorseless military ambition against her, the command of the productions of the torrid zone, and the advantageous commerce which that afforded, gave to Great Britain the power and resources which enabled her to meet, to combat, and to overcome her numerous and reckless enemies in every battlefield, whether by sea or land, throughout the world. In her the world saw realized the fabled giant of antiquity. With her hundred hands she grasped her foes in every region under heaven, and crushed them with resistless energy."

Now, if the possession and control of tropical production gave to England such immense resources, and secured to her such superiority and such power in the last century, then she would not yield them in the present but in a death-struggle for their maintenance. That struggle had commenced when Mr. McQueen came forward with his appeal to the nation to resort to Africa for the remedy. British philanthropy had wrought out its results in the West Indies, and demonstrated the futility of the schemes it had pursued. British tropical cultivation and the commerce it sustained both lay in ruins, while the slave-trade and slavery laughed the nation to scorn. It became necessary, therefore, to arouse the

country to a sense of its danger, and facts were at hand upon which to base the most profound arguments for immediate action. He showed that "the increased cultivation and prosperity of foreign tropical possessions had become so great, and was advancing so rapidly the power and resources of other nations, that these were embarrassing England in all her commercial relations, in her pecuniary resources, and in all her political relations and negotiations."

In proof of his assertions, Mr. McQueen presented the official returns of the exports from the British tropical possessions, as compared with those of a few only of those of other nations, in three articles alone of tropical products. The following are the results:

Articles.	British Possessions.	Other Countries.
Sugar, 1842.....	lbs. 447,802,852	lbs. 1,199,044,784
Coffee, 1842.....	97,898,003	337,432,840
Cotton, 1840.....	137,443,446	981,206,903

The British possessions referred to include the East Indies, West Indies, and Mauritius; the foreign countries, the United States, Cuba, Brazil, Java, and Venezuela.

This exhibition of figures is full of meaning. Nearly three-fourths of the products of these foreign countries had been created within thirty years of the date of the appeal of Mr. McQueen; and, aside from the United States, Java, and Venezuela, all were dependent upon the slave-trade for the successful prosecution of their cultivation. Mr. M. therefore proceeded to say:

"If the foreign slave-trade be not extinguished, and the tropical territories of other powers opposed and checked by British tropical cultivation, then the interests and power of such States will rise into a preponderance over those of Great Britain, and the power and the influence of the latter will cease to be felt, feared, and respected among the civilized and powerful nations of the world."

From these facts it is easy to perceive that the slave-trade had been very sensibly and very seriously affecting the interests of the British Government; that it had been an engine, since 1808, in the hands of other nations, by which they had thrown England into the background in the production of those articles of which she formerly had the monopoly, and which had given to her such power and influence; and that she must either crush the slave-trade, or it would continue to paralyze her. Here is the true secret of her movements in reference to the slave-trade and slavery. Her first step—the prohibition of the slave trade to her colonies—gave to Spain, Portugal, and France all the advantages of that traffic; and the cheaper and more abundant labor thus secured gave a powerful stimulus to the production of tropical commodities in their colonies, and soon enabled them to rival and greatly surpass England in the amount of her production of these articles. It was considered absolutely necessary, therefore, to the prosperity of Great Britain that she should regain the advantageous position which she had occupied in being the chief producer of tropical commodities, or, at least, that she should lessen her dependence upon other countries by their cultivation in her own colonies.

But the Government and its advisers now found themselves in the mortifying position of having blundered miserably in their emancipation scheme, and of having landed themselves in a dilemma of singular perplexity. The prohibition of the slave-trade, and the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, resulted so favorably to the interests of those countries employing slave labor, by enlarging the markets for slave-grown products, that the difficulty of inducing them to cease from it was increased a hundred fold.

In relation to these embarrassments Mr. McQueen said:

"Instead of supplying her own wants with tropical productions, and next nearly all Europe, as she formerly did, the British nation had scarcely enough of some of the most important articles for her own consumption, while her colonies were mostly supplied with foreign slave produce. . . . In the mean time, tropical productions had increased from the value of \$75,000,000 annually to \$300,000,000 annually. The English capital invested in tropical productions in the East and West Indies had been, by emancipation in the latter, reduced from \$750,000,000 to \$650,000,000; while, since 1808, on the part of foreign nations, \$4,000,000,000 of fixed capital had been created in slaves and in cultivation wholly dependent upon the labor of slaves." The odds, therefore, in agricultural and commercial capital and interest, and consequently in political power and influence, arrayed against the British tropical possessions "were fearful—six to one."

This, then, was the position of England from 1840 to 1844, and these the forces marshaled against her, and which she must meet and combat. In all her movements hitherto she had only added to the strength of her rivals. Her first step, the prohibition of the slave-trade, had diminished her West India laborers 100,000 in twenty years, and reduced her production thirty-three per cent., giving all the benefits arising from this and the slave-trade to rival nations, who but too well improved their advantages. Her second step, emancipation, reduced her production to about one-fourth of what it had been previous to 1808.

But, besides her commercial sacrifices, she had expended \$100,000,000 to remunerate the planters for the slaves emancipated, and another \$100,000,000 for an armed repression of the slave-trade. And yet, in all this enormous expenditure, resulting only in loss to England, Africa had received no advantage whatever. On the contrary, she had been robbed, since 1808, of at least 3,500,000 slaves, who had been exported to Cuba and Brazil from her coast, making a total loss to Africa, by the rule of Buxton, of 11,666,000 human beings!

Now, it was abundantly evident that Great Britain was impelled by an overpowering necessity, by the instinct of self-preservation, to effect the suppression of the slave-trade. The measures to be adopted to insure success were also becoming more apparent. Few other nations are guided by statesmen more also quick to perceive the best course to adopt in an emergency, and none more readily abandon a scheme as soon as it proves impracticable. Great Britain stood pledged to her own citizens and to the world for the suppression of the slave-trade. She stood equally pledged to demonstrate that free labor could be made more productive than slave labor, even in the cultivation of tropical commodities. These pledges she could not deviate from nor revoke. But she could only demonstrate the greater productiveness of free labor over slave labor by opposing the one to the other, in their practical operations, on a scale coextensive with each other. She must produce tropical commodities so cheaply and so abundantly by free labor that she could undersell slave-grown products to such an extent, and glut the markets of the world so fully, as to render it unprofitable any longer to employ slaves in tropical production. Such an enterprise successfully carried out, she conceived, would be a death-blow to the slave-trade and slavery.

"But there remained no portion of the tropical world where labor could be had on the spot and whereon Great Britain could conveniently and safely plant her foot in order to accomplish this desirable object—extensive tropical cultivation—but in tropical Africa. Every other part was occupied by independent nations, or by people that might and would soon become independent." Africa, therefore, was the field upon which Great Britain was compelled to enter and make her second grand experiment.

But lo! even this field was not now as fully open as it had been when the Niger expedition was fitted out. The failure of that enterprise occurred while the Government was engaged in adjusting its first difficulty with China, which grew out of the "opium question," and in conducting its war with the Sikhs in India. When, therefore, attention was now turned to Africa, it was found that much of its territory also had been occupied by other nations, and that England no longer had it in her power "to make all Africa a dependency of the British Crown."

Let us state the facts on this point. France, fully alive to the importance of the commerce with Africa, had, within a short period, securely placed herself at the mouth of the Senegal and at Goree, extending her influence eastward and southward from both places. She had a settlement at Albreda, on the Gambia, a short distance above St. Mary's, and which commands that river. She had formed a settlement at the mouth of the Gaboon, and another at the chief mouth of the Niger. She had fixed herself at Massuah and Bure, on the west coast of the Red Sea, commanding the inlets into Abyssinia. She had endeavored to fix her flag at Brava and the mouth of the Jub, and had taken permanent possession of the important island of Johanna, situated in the centre of the Mozambique Channel, by which she acquired its command. Her active agents were placed in Southern Abyssinia, and employed in traversing the borders of the Great White Nile; while Algiers, on the northern shores of Africa, was speedily to

become her own. Spain had planted herself, since the Niger expedition, in the island of Fernando Po, which commands all the outlets of the Niger and the rivers from Cameroons to the equator. Portugal, witnessing these movements, had taken measures to revive her once fine and still important colonies in tropical Africa. They included seventeen degrees of latitude on the east coast, from the Tropic of Capricorn to Zanzibar, and nearly nineteen degrees on the west coast, from the twentieth degree of south latitude northward to Cape Lopez. The Imam of Muscat laid claim to the sovereignty on the east coast from Zanzibar to Babelmandel, with the exception of the station of the French at Brava. From the Senegal northward to Algeria was in the possession of the independent Moorish princes. Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt were north of the Tropic of Cancer, and independent tributaries of Turkey.

Here, then, all the eastern and northern coasts of Africa, and also the west coast, from the Gambia northward, were found to be in the actual possession of independent sovereignties, who, of course, would not yield the right to England. Southern Africa, below the Tropic of Capricorn, already belonging to England, though only the same distance south of the equator that Cuba and Florida are north of it, is highly elevated above the sea level, and not adapted to tropical productions. The claims of Portugal on the west coast, before noticed, extending from near the British South African line to Cape Lopez, excluded England from that district. From Cape Lopez to the mouth of the Niger, including the Gaboon and Fernando Po, as already stated, was under the control of the French and Spanish.

The only new African territory, therefore, not claimed by civilized countries, which could be made available to England anywhere along the coast for her great scheme of tropical cultivation, was that between the Niger and Liberia, embracing nearly fourteen degrees of longitude. There she began her work, making Lagos and Abbeokuta her principal points. In the mean time Dr. Livingstone, penetrating the interior from the south, gave great promises as to the prospects of a large supply of cotton from the regions he traversed.

Pardon these details. They are necessary to the proper understanding of the course pursued by England to retrieve her losses consequent upon her schemes for the elevation of the negro race.

CONDITION OF THE COTTON QUESTION IN 1850.

Before attempting to show the result of the British efforts in Africa and elsewhere towards increasing the supplies of cotton to the English manufacturers the exact condition of this question in 1850 must be given, as it will afford a starting-point from which to estimate the true progress made by England in her efforts to become independent of the United States for her supplies of cotton. The year 1838 brought about emancipation, and 1840 convinced the English people that, economically at least, it would be a failure. Hence the efforts we have enumerated to relieve themselves from the fatal consequences that were likely to follow. And what had the ten years of laborious exertion produced? Let the *London Economist* answer:

"1. That our supply of cotton from all quarters (excluding the United States) has for many years been decidedly, though irregularly, decreasing.

"2. That our supply of cotton from all quarters (including the United States), available for home consumption, has of late years been falling off at the rate of 400,000 pounds a week, while our consumption has been increasing during the same period at the rate of 1,440,000 pounds per week.

"3. That the United States is the only country where the growth of cotton is on the increase: and that there, even, the increase does not, on an average, exceed three per cent., or 82,000,000 pounds annually, which is barely sufficient to supply the increasing demand for its own consumption and for the Continent of Europe.

"4. That no stimulus of price can materially augment this annual increase, as the planters always grow as much cotton as the negro population can pick.

"5. That consequently, if the cotton manufacture of Great Britain is to increase at all—on its present footing—it can only be enabled to do so by applying a great stimulus to the growth of cotton in other countries adapted for the culture."

This condition of things was forced upon the British manufacturers, because the British free labor system could not compete with our slave labor system.

We could supply the markets so much cheaper than the English colonies were able to do, that our cotton drove theirs from the British market. From 1836 to 1848 the fall in the price of cotton, other than that from the United States, was from 36 per cent. to 43 per cent. This included the importations from all the miscellaneous sources. In the last century the West Indies and Smyrna had supplid the demand. Brazil had diminished her exports to one-half of the former amount. Egypt had diminished her exports to less than one-third of what it had been. India had also diminished her exports. All this was the result of the fall in the price of cotton, consequent upon the more efficient labor system of the United States.

The opening of 1850 showed that the total consumption of cotton, for the preceding year, in Europe and the United States, had been near 1,180,000,000 pounds, of which only 73,589,000 pounds were from free labor countries. The indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor, at that moment, for the article of cotton, was near 1,101,000,000 pounds. Great Britain, during 1859, consumed 624,000,000 pounds, of which a little under 71,500,000 pounds were of free labor origin.

Here, now, we find that the ten years' struggle of Great Britain, to escape from her dependence upon the United States for cotton, had been a complete failure. She was more dependent upon us for that article than ever before. She, therefore, renewed her struggles for another ten years.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH COTTON CULTURE AFTER 1850, AND THEIR RESULTS AT THE OPENING OF 1860.

The great leading interest of England—her principal dependence for the maintenance of her power and influence—is her manufactures. Out of this interest grows her immense commerce, and from her commerce arises her ability to sustain her vast navy, giving to her such a controlling influence in the affairs of the world. It is asserted that Manchester and Glasgow could, in a few years, prepare themselves for furnishing muslin and cotton goods to the whole world—that with England the great difficulty felt is, not to get hands to keep pace with the consumers, but to get a demand to keep pace with the hands employed in the production. This is her position.

But, to proceed. From 1840 to 1849, the average price of cotton was 7 91-100 cents per pound. This low price was the principal cause of the decrease of its production in countries other than the United States; and an increase of price was essential to the encouragement of extended cultivation in the countries which had been supplying it, as well as in new fields where its growth might be introduced. But no permanent increase of price occurred until 1857, when it rose to 12 55-100 cents per pound. This, however, was in consequence of the short crop of our planters, who exported that year 303,000,000 pounds less than in the preceding year. The years 1850 and 1851 had also been unfavorable—the former supplying for export 391,000,000 pounds less than the exports of 1849, and the latter near 100,000,000 pounds less than those of that year—the average price per pound for the two years being 11 7-10 cents. The five years succeeding 1851 furnished abundant crops in the United States, and the price averaged only 9 12-100 cents per pound. No increased production abroad could be secured under these prices. While the rise of price in 1857 had brought from India the unprecedented amount of 250,300,000 pounds, the fall in price afterwards reduced the exports down nearly to the former standard.

But, though the crops of 1858 and 1859, in the United States, were large—that of the latter year allowing an export of 1,372,000,000 pounds—yet, owing to the increasing consumption on the continent and in the United States, the supply of England was not equal to her wants; and the anxiety in relation to her cotton supplies continued to engage attention.

The year 1859, like 1849, supplies a point from which we can survey the results of the British efforts to promote the cultivation of cotton in their own possessions, and in countries other than the United States. In that year, 1859, the imports of cotton into Great Britain, from all sources, was 1,215,900,000.

pounds, of which 1,154,000,000 pounds were from the United States and the East Indies, leaving but 61,900,000 pounds from all other countries, or an increase of only 760,000 pounds during the year! Her efforts, then, in other countries, had been almost a failure. From 1857 the prices remained more than two cents higher per pound than during the five preceding years, and thus a great stimulus was afforded to the American planter to increase his cultivation. But while the prices richly remunerated him, they were at least one cent per pound too low to allow of any serious competition from India. At 12 55-100 cents per pound, in 1857, the East Indies sent to England 250,300,000 pounds; but in 1858, at 11 72-100 cents per pound, only 138,200,000 pounds were forwarded from that quarter. It became plain, therefore, that if the American planter could keep the price of cotton below about eleven cents a pound, he could retain the monopoly of the markets of Europe, by preventing an increased supply from India. But here, at this very point, a difficulty presented itself. The increase of the demand for cotton, as has been estimated, would equal five per cent. per annum, were it practicable to augment the production to that extent, and the American planter could only increase it in the ratio of three per cent.

Thus, an important question arose, as to who should supply this demand. The American planter could not do it, except by extending the area of slave labor; and the British people dare not attempt it, while cotton maintained the low prices which had prevailed. The English introduced the coolie system of labor, to revive their lost fortunes in their tropical colonies; and, fearing the Americans would renew the slave-trade, they again commenced their efforts to prevent such a result. It was readily perceived, by English manufacturers and statesmen, that if the slave-trade should be renewed by the United States—an opinion for which there never was any just foundation—all their hopes of regaining the monopoly of tropical cultivation, as well as their expectations of divorcing themselves from the cotton planters of the United States, would be at an end. It was of the utmost importance, therefore, that such a calamity to England, as the renewal of the slave-trade by the United States, should be averted at all hazards. It was almost equally important, also, that American slavery should be kept within the limits where it then existed, and prevented from extending to new and more productive fields of cultivation. And why? Because, after all the efforts made by Great Britain to promote cotton culture throughout the world, there had been no considerable increase, in the aggregate, excepting in the United States and the East Indies. What was the fact at that moment? These "other countries," in 1800, supplied 48,000,000 lbs. of cotton; and in 1859 nearly 62,000,000 lbs., presenting an increase in 59 years of about 14,000,000 lbs. only.

These were startling results, truly, to those who had been flattering themselves that British capital and enterprise could force the cultivation of cotton in new fields of production, or augment it in old ones from which the original supplies had been obtained. There is, therefore, no disguising the fact that, at the opening of 1860, the East Indies and the United States were the only countries from which increasing quantities of cotton had been obtained to any extent, and that it could not be greatly increased in the East Indies until prices should rise to at least the standard of 1857.

In 1860, then, the United States and British India were the only prominent rivals in the great cotton markets of the world. The American planter had the decided advantage in the contest for supremacy in very many respects, but still he had obstacles to overcome of a very stubborn nature, among which, as already stated, were the difficulties in the way of the extension of slave labor. To retain his monopoly of the cotton markets, he must not only increase his production, but, at the same time, keep the prices depressed below the rates at which it could be supplied from India. To allow any measures to be adopted which would greatly diminish the production of American cotton, and so enhance its price, would be to promote the interests of the East India planters, and enable them successfully to rival those of the United States. That the slave-trade should not supply additional labor to the American planter, was

provided against by the British men-of-war cruising on the African coast; and that the extension of American slavery should not be permitted, the American allies of Great Britain, the Abolitionists, by the aid of British gold, went zealously to work to prevent that result.

With these facts before us, it is easy to perceive that Great Britain has long been deeply interested in the promotion of whatever policy would tend to diminish the production of American cotton and enhance the price of that commodity, so as to stimulate its cultivation in her own provinces. And it is equally as plain that those citizens of the United States who co-operated with her in the execution of her schemes, or who are now resorting to all possible means to prevent the renewal of our cotton cultivation by embarrassing the South, and leaving her in uncertainty as to the future, are doing the work of the enemies of our Republic, and deserve, and are long will receive, the execrations of the American people.

Now, on arriving at this point in these investigations, it is very easy to comprehend why the people of Great Britain have made such extensive and persevering efforts to promote the abolition of slavery in the United States. Emancipation, they very well knew, would at once embarrass our planters and greatly diminish the production of cotton on their estates. It is also very obvious why the English abolitionists, on failing in their schemes in reference to the immediate abolition of slavery in this country, should have, with such perfect unanimity, approved of the proposition of the American abolitionists to confine slavery within the limits of the States where it existed, because, to prevent the extension of Southern slavery, would be to diminish the production of our great commercial staple, and to allow the monopoly of the cotton supplies, ultimately, to pass from the hands of our citizens into those of the subjects of Great Britain.

The primary movers in these measures, beyond a doubt, knew that emancipation everywhere, without exception, had been disastrous to the production of tropical commodities. The great mass of freedmen would not work voluntarily, to any useful extent, beyond what was needed to supply their absolute necessities. The blacks of the United States, they felt assured, would form no exception to the general rule, and emancipation would accomplish all they desired.

And, through the "war power," their purpose has been accomplished. Emancipation has been effected; and not that alone, but the war has reduced the amount of blacks in the South at least one million, by death, thus destroying not only the labor system that offered such an "unequal competition" to their labor system, but reducing our laboring population, of the same color with their own, at least one-fourth. The English cotton philanthropists may well rejoice at such a result.

A remark here. The American abolitionists have always insisted that Southern slavery was worse than any other in the world. It would be easy to prove that this was a vile slander, and our only hope that the utter prostration of cotton culture in the South will not follow emancipation there, as it has in the English West India Colonies, is based upon the fact that our black population, in industry and intelligence, in morality and civilization, are immensely in advance of the West India negroes. Lest the culture of cotton should assume something like its former proportions in the South, and prices fall too low to allow of its production in the British possessions, the conspirators against our national prosperity have just assessed an export tax upon American cotton.

THE VAST SOURCES OF WEALTH WHICH THE ABOLITIONISTS WERE WILLING TO DESTROY.

We have spoken, in the preceding sections, of the persistent efforts of the Abolitionists to ruin the foreign commerce of the United States, by the destruction of the labor system which supplied the principal basis upon which it rested. Is this assertion not sustained by the facts? Look for a moment at the condition of that commerce, and see what were the commodities it bore abroad from our shores.

The Congressional reports for 1860 give the total exports of the country since 1821, stating the value of each class of commodities separately. The following are the results:

Breadstuffs and provisions.....	\$1,006,915,235
Rice.....	57,854,511
Tobacco.....	835,181,067
Cotton.....	2,574,594,091

Here the value of the cotton crop, during the last 39 years, stands out in its true proportions. And if to the cotton we add that of tobacco and rice, the exports of the Southern States, in these three products alone, reach a value of nearly \$3,000,000,000, or thrice the amount of the whole value of all the other products of the soil from both North and South.

Nor will the results be materially different by taking the exports of the three years immediately preceding the war, giving each year separately, except that the value of the cotton was increasing at a rapid rate over that of the other products of the soil:

Products.	1858.	1859.	1860.
Breadstuffs and Provisions	\$54,633,225	\$38,305,991	\$45,371,850
Tobacco	17,009,767	21,074,088	15,906,547
Rice.....	1,810,573	2,207,148	2,567,899
Cotton.....	131,386,661	161,484,928	191,506,535

The term "Cotton is King," at the dates referred to, was no unmeaning phrase. It had its origin in the title of a book, bearing that name, of which the writer of these articles was the author. In adopting that name, the object was to convey the idea that cotton was the leading article in the commerce and manufactures of the world; and, especially was it designed, by the work, to demonstrate that in the foreign commerce of the United States—in that which had built us up and given us our greatness as a nation—cotton occupied a royal position. But it went further, and from an investigation of the extent and character of cotton culture throughout the world, it showed that the cotton planters in the United States had the ascendancy in the foreign markets for that staple, and would be able to retain that pre-eminence, so long as no disturbing agency arose to interrupt their system of labor.

But this was not all that the author had in view. There were fanatical men at the North who clamored for a dissolution of the Union. The book demonstrated that, so long as the North held the reins of commerce, and the South supplied two-thirds of the basis of that commerce, dissolution would be ruin, especially to the North; and that from the disastrous consequences of emancipation in the British West Indies, it was fair to infer, that the liberation of our slaves must be followed by similar results, and the North and South, both, must equally suffer from the overthrow of our labor system.

Staggered at considerations such as these, it became apparent to the agents of Great Britain, that the people of the United States would not assent to either dissolution or emancipation, if the result must be followed by the prostration of our foreign commerce. To disparage the importance of our cotton crop, and to induce the belief that we could not, at any rate, retain the monopoly of the cotton markets, was the policy adopted to reconcile the people to the measures of the Abolitionists. Two lines of argument, therefore, were pursued. *First*, Exaggerated statements as to the greater value, over the cotton crop, of certain other products of agriculture. *Second*, The certainty that other countries were progressing so rapidly in the production of cotton, that our planters would soon be shut out of the foreign markets, and the growing of cotton become almost valueless to us as an article of export. One example only, under the first head, need be given.

The story of the hay crop—not a pound of which was exported—as being of more value than the cotton crop, nearly \$200,000,000 worth of which were exported during a single year just before the war, is still fresh in the memory of the intelligent reader. Because, forsooth, we had \$300,000,000 worth of

hay—all of which was consumed by our own live stock—we could do very well without the \$200,000,000 worth of cotton, which went abroad to pay for our importations! Such was abolition logic. A few facts will set this question in its true light:

Hay, instead of being a standard of wealth, is but the indication of severity of climate and prolonged winters. This proposition may be illustrated by examples taken from a few of the Northern States which save large quantities of hay, as compared with the same number in the South which save but little hay; and yet the Southern States are able to subsist a much larger amount of live stock, from the fact that their climate is so favorable as to afford more or less pasturage through the winter.

STATES.	Hay, tons.	Horses, cattle, etc.	Sheep.	Hogs.
New Hampshire	598,854	802,162	884,756	63,437
Vermont	866,153	410,123	1,014,122	68,296
Maine	753,869	385,113	451,577	54,695
Connecticut	516,181	239,608	174,181	76,473
Michigan	404,943	333,073	746,435	205,847
Georgia	23,449	1,306,238	560,435	2,168,617
Alabama	32,685	915,911	371,880	1,904,540
Mississippi	12,504	903,977	804,929	1,582,734
South Carolina	20,925	912,340	235,551	1,065,508
Arkansas	8,976	364,466	91,256	336,727

I use the census tables of 1850, those of 1860, though equally favorable to my purpose, not being at hand.

Here is Georgia, on less than 24,000 tons of hay, supporting more than 1,300,000 head of horses and cattle, while Vermont, with 866,000 tons, is able to support only 410,000 head of similar stock. Georgia, too, supported, in addition, on the same hay crop, more than half as many sheep as Vermont fed, besides growing nearly 200,000,000 of pounds of ginned cotton.

But I cannot dwell upon the absurdities of these ruinous theories, gotten up to familiarize the public mind with the idea that, economically, the Union was of but little value to the North. Reader, look at the tabular statement above, presenting the value of the cotton exported, as compared with the value of the other products of the soil exported, and you can judge what would have been the condition of our foreign commerce, had no cotton entered into our exports for the last 39 years. But enough of this.

Under the second head, still bolder attempts at imposition were practiced. The senior editor of a religious newspaper, in New York city, who had always opposed Abolitionism, but who had been "coerced" into the support of the war policy, in the fore part of the summer of 1861, thus wrote:

"Ten years hence India will furnish as much cotton within a trifle as America will even if the rate of increase continues in this country as rapidly in the next 10 years as it has in the last decade of years."

This opinion of the editor was based upon statements made in an article in the *North British Review*, which contained the estimates of the increase only in the British supplies of cotton, from the several cotton-growing countries, from 1850 to 1857. The *Review* said:

"During that period the increase of 300,000,000 pounds, in round numbers, in our imports of cotton, was furnished by the following countries:

	Pounds.
United States	161,604,906
Egypt	5,910,730
West Indies	1,134,367
East Indies	131,465,403
Africa and others	5,895,462

The deception practiced by the *Review* was in the selection of the seven years ending with 1857. The year 1857, as already stated, gave a short crop in the United States, and a corresponding increased importation from India, because of the increased prices. Had the contrast been made between the three years 1858, 1859 and 1860, the increase would have been as follows—leading to a very different conclusion from that indorsed by the editor to whom reference has been made:

	Pounds.
United States, increase	363,486,768
East India, increase	65,887,808
West India, etc., decrease	196,234
Egypt, increase	9,077,224
Brazil, increase	820,064

These statistics tell a very different story as to the condition of the cotton supplies at the time the *Review* prepared its article from that which the figures of 1850 and 1857 afford.

But the *Review*, lest its statement as to the increase of the cotton supplies should fall in the effect intended to be produced, went still further in its deceptive course, and, instead of the actual importations, presented the increased shipments to England in per cents. of increase, from 1843 to 1857, being 14 years, thus:

United States, per cent. of increase	15
Egypt, per cent. of increase	140
Brazil, per cent. of increase	54
East India, per cent. of increase	288
Africa, per cent. of increase	300

Now, what were the facts? The year 1843 gave only 65,709,729 pounds of cotton from India—a much less quantity than in the two preceding years; while 1857 gave 250,381,144 pounds—a great increase over that of any previous year. The premeditated deception here practiced is apparent, when it is further stated that, owing to our short crop, England received 125,281,978 pounds less from us in 1857 than she had the previous year, and 461,132,560 pounds less than in 1860. Had the contrast been drawn between 1857 and 1860, the result, instead of showing an increase from India, would have presented a decrease of 23 per cent. The increase from Africa may have been at the rate of 300 per cent., but then the whole imports from the favored African districts of Lagos and Abbeokuta, in 1857, were only 35,000 pounds!

And now, as to the estimates of the future, as quoted with approbation by the editor:

"If we take the imports of 1857 as the basis, and assume the increase of the fourteen succeeding years to be in the same ratio, the rate of increase in 1857 will be as follows:

	Pounds.
United States	758,911,754
East India	720,973,853
Brazil	45,464,464
Egypt	31,216,849
Africa and others	23,758,450

It is only necessary, in noticing this formidable array of figures, to say, that the imports of cotton into Great Britain from the United States, for 1860, were 1,115,890,608 lbs., or 362,297,854 lbs. in excess of what it was to be, according to the editor, in 1871; and that the supplies from India, in 1860, instead of having increased at the rate of 280 per cent., were actually decreased below those of 1857 to the amount of 45,196,976 lbs.! Brazil, too, instead of having had an increase between 1857 and 1860, supplied less in the latter year than in the former by 12,623,968.

As the *Review* and the editor both wrote their articles in 1861, when the foregoing facts had been officially published, their conduct is inexcusable, the one for misleading, the other for being misled.

But the editor, above quoted, was not alone in falling into the trap laid by the *Review* to influence public opinion in the United States so as to promote the work of emancipation by the sword. In the *New York Independent*, September 5, 1861, the following very positive opinion is expressed:

"We predict that within five years the wants of the world can be supplied with cotton elsewhere than here. While this great staple was abundant at eight or nine cents a pound, public attention in other countries was not called to its production; but now, at double former prices, the matter is commanding almost universal attention."

The secular press, too, fell into the same train of writing:

The *Boston Post* said, in relation to the cultivation of cotton in Southern Illinois: "It is believed that there are at least 500,000 acres of land in the State adapted to the growth of cotton."

The *Railroad Record*, June 5, 1862, said:

"Members of Congress from Illinois state that cotton will be extensively cultivated in their State this year. The Illinois Central Railroad Company have prepared 2,000 acres for this purpose."

The same journal, Nov. 20, 1862, said:

"But that cotton can be profitably grown as far north as the 40th degree of north latitude say the line of the old National Road, is manifest from the result of experiments during the present season. No doubt large quantities of cotton will be grown in future in Southern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Kansas, as well as in the bottom lands of Kentucky."

Extensive quotations might be made of a similar character, attempting to give currency to the idea that there need be no dread of any ill consequences from emancipation, as any deficiencies in the production of cotton in the South could be made up from sources outside of the slave States.

Lord Palmerston gave the whole weight of his influence to sustain this view. At the Lord Mayor's dinner in London, 1861, the American Minister, Mr. Adams, being present, his lordship, in alluding to the want of cotton from America, said:

"That temporary evil will be productive of permanent good [cheers], and we should find in various quarters of the globe sure and certain and ample supplies, which will render us no longer dependent upon one source of production for that which is so necessary for the industry and welfare of the country."

As early as 1858, this same distinguished statesman, Lord Palmerston, during the debate in Parliament, July 13, said:

"I venture to say that you will find on the west coast of Africa a most valuable supply of cotton, so essential to the manufactures of this country. It has every advantage for the growth of that article. The cotton districts of Africa are more extensive than those of India. The access to them is more easy than to the Indian cotton districts, and I venture to say that your commerce with the western coast of Africa in the article of cotton will in a few years prove to be far more valuable than that of any portion of the world, the United States excepted."

But why should his lordship speak so favorably of Africa as a field of cotton growing for England? It is known to every one familiar with the civil condition of Africa, that slavery everywhere prevails throughout its territory, inhabited by the negro race. To cultivate cotton in Africa, therefore, is to establish slavery on a profitable basis, in a new field of tropical production. But to do so, it was argued, was justifiable on the ground of philanthropy, as it would tend to paralyze the slave-trade, and prevent its renewal in America; that is to say, Englishmen assented to the encouragement of slavery in Africa, provided its success there would destroy it in the United States. On this topic the *London Economist*, in 1859, said:

"Once let the African chiefs find out, as in many instances they have already found out, that the sale of the laborer can be only a source of profit once, while his labor may be a source of constant and increasing profit, and we shall hear no more of their killing the hen which may lay so many golden eggs, for the sake of a solitary and final prize."

But why should neither his Lordship nor the *Economist* say nothing of the sinfulness of slavery? Simply because the theory that slavery is sinful, was never adopted as a rule of action by the British people. That theory was designed for American use, and as a maxim that might overthrow American slavery.

But has success attended the efforts of Great Britain to gain adequate supplies of cotton from other sources? Not at all. Very briefly it may be said that the promises of a considerable supply from Africa, founded on the encouragements held out by Dr. Livingstone, and the adaptation of Southern Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, to its cultivation, were all urged in support of the theory presented for public acceptance. Time has brought out the results. The increased imports from Brazil, Egypt, and India have fallen far short of what was expected from these principal sources of supply. Dr. Livingstone's promises, in relation to Africa, have utterly failed, and his whole expedition come to grief. From the region where the British agent had expected a large amount of cotton, not a pound was afforded—the wars among the native Africans having driven away the population, and the crops thus left to destruc-

tion. Nor has the expectation as to Southern Illinois been realized. Forty years' experimenting, by South Carolina emigrants, had proved the climate unfavorable, and shown that not oftener than once in ten years could a paying crop be expected. Illinois can never adopt cotton as a staple article of cultivation.

The vast sources of wealth which the Abolitionists were willing to destroy, may now be comprehended by making an additional statement. The value of the exports of raw cotton in 1860, the year before the war, was nearly \$192,000,000, while the value of the same article, exported in 1862, when we were in the midst of our struggle, was only \$1,180,000. And yet, our importations of foreign goods have continued to be enormous. But how have these goods been paid for? We answer: In our bonds now held abroad, to the amount of nearly \$1,500,000,000, and upon which the interest has to be paid.

But let us take a glance at the prospects for restoring our cotton cultivation.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE COLONIES OF FRANCE, AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SYSTEM OF PENAL AND CONTRACT LABOR IN THEIR OPERATIONS UPON LIBERATED NEGROES.

The circumstances under which emancipation was effected in the colonies of France have been briefly referred to in the introductory portion of these articles. The results of that measure are exceedingly interesting, and should be studied in detail in the work of M. Cochin, taken in connection with the facts on the general subject of emancipation as embraced in "Cotton is King" and "Pulpit Politics."

At present a reference can be made to a few of the prominent facts only, as illustrative of the inextricable confusion into which both the French and English have thrown the labor systems of their tropical possessions, by their efforts, under the professed name of philanthropy, in favor of the African race. Designing great brevity, we proceed at once to the subject.

With emancipation, as carried out at Guadalupe, came "the institution of cantonal juries and the establishment of penal labor."

As applied to Bourbon, this system of penal labor ran thus:

"That before the 20th of December, the end of the delay accorded by the decrees, every slave should hire himself to labor for two years on a sugar plantation, or for one year as a domestic, under penalty of being regarded and punished as a vagrant."

That the planters should not be too much in the power of the liberated negroes,

"More than 20,000 East Indians, and some 100 Africans, were introduced during the first years: an addition unfavorable to good order, morals, and even to wealth—since the coolies kept their wages to carry back to their own country, instead of settling in the colony like the negroes—but most valuable in making up for the desertion of the large plantations."

The great falling off in the cultivation of the French islands, after emancipation, is thus explained by M. Cochin, as a very natural consequence of that measure:

"To the law that said, 'The laborer is free;' regulations have added, 'The labor is compulsory.' It will be admitted that the shade of difference was not easy of comprehension to the newly freedmen. Escaped from constraint they distrusted all that resembled it." "This was natural. What prisoner does not escape when his prison door is broken? What bird does not take flight when its cage is opened? What! we expect of an ignorant, wretched being, less intelligent than a *gamin* of Paris, less virtuous than a *Regulus*, what none of those who speak or write on these subjects would assuredly have done! We expect of him to make his freedom consist in resuming, under another title purely ideal, the same tool, in the same place, under the same authority, to content himself with changing name, without changing condition, and to receive this precious boon, freedom, without endeavoring to make use of it!"

This French system of penal labor, by means of which the newly-emancipated negroes were controlled, and forbidden to lead the life of vagrants, has been lauded as a vast improvement upon the involuntary servitude required under American slavery. But the twenty-seven decrees and orders of 1848 were not long-lived. The fourth, relative to juries, was abrogated by article eleven of the decree of 1852, on bound labor, which also replaced the seventh decree on va-

grancy, and the eighth, which instituted a system of penal labor. The exact regulations now prevailing, or the difference between bound labor and the penal labor which it superseded, are not stated. It would seem that those in authority since 1848, attaching but little importance to the old class of negroes, pursued a liberal policy towards the freedmen, so that portions of them have been allowed to squat upon vacant lands, or purchase small tracts for cultivation, while others have gone to the towns—the whole being considered as unreliable for plantation labor.

As a system of control over the emancipated negroes of the South, somewhat allied to the French system, appears to be the policy of Congress at Washington, it may be well to examine it more fully, and see wherein it will be more advantageous to the blacks than their original slavery. For, as Cochin well observes, it must be very difficult for the negro to comprehend the nice distinction between the two systems. The one makes him the slave of the master, the other the slave of the law. The one compels him to perform his task as a slave; the other forces him to contract to perform a task, equally arduous, as a freeman. In either case, neglect brings upon him the penalty due to his idleness.

The remedy for the disinclination of the negro to work, Cochin declares, is in immigration, as a means of developing production and diminishing expense; as a means of lowering wages by the competition of labor, and of diminishing the costs of manufacture by manufacturing on a large scale.

"We repeat it, hands are demanded less to replace the former workmen than to stimulate them, to lower wages and to develop cultures; not substitutes, but competitors are sought."

The importation of immigrants from Africa into the French colonies was authorized in 1852. Previous to that the supply had come from India and China. It was found necessary to impose strict regulations upon this immigration in one important particular. In the English coolie traffic for supply of the island of Mauritius, from 1834 to 1839, of 25,468 coolies introduced, there were only 727 women, or 1 woman to 35 men. Of the 40,318 introduced from 1842 to 1844, 453 were women, or 1 woman to 89 men. Of the 5,092 introduced in 1845, the women numbered but 646; and in all, of 96,004 coolies from India, 13,284 were women, or about 1 woman to 7 men.

In view of such facts as these, the French Government, in article three of its African immigration regulations, imposed upon importers of laborers the condition that at least one in five of the immigrants should be women, and that they should not be more than one-half!

After enumerating the disadvantages connected with the employment of Chinamen and coolies, owing to the revolting immoralities attending their condition, M. Cochin declares that the African race is still universally preferred. He says:

"Is it not curious to see the colonies return by preference to the African race?"

And again:

"But what! is not this a most remarkable fact from the stand point we take? It is from the African race that laborers are borrowed, destined to replace other Africans who are accused of caring only for idleness."

It was predicted, when the Asiatic emigration had been tried for a time, that it would totally crowd out the black race from among the whites, in the countries where they had the sovereignty; but, instead of this result, the contrary is realized. M. Cochin, on this point, says:

"These higher families bow less willingly to toll, and open themselves less readily to Christianity than this always despised race; and after having carefully sought how to replace the freed negroes, we have been forced to conclude that it must be by other freed negroes."

After considerable additional discussion as to the necessity of an increased supply of labor for the colonies, and the dangers to the future of colonial society from a large increase of Caffres and Malgaches, Hindoos and Chinamen—vast factories where workman and master will be eager only to make the most of each other and flee—M. Cochin proceeds:

"It is demonstrated that the best immigrants are Africans;" and then asked this question and answers it:

"If the Africans are the race of all others easiest assimilated to our manners and faith,

if it is to this robust and vigorous race that we always return after so many trials, why then go afar to seek Africans more brutish and ignorant than the former slaves? Because there is obtained of the new-comers engagements, a *livret*, forced services—in a word, what may be called provisional slavery."

M. Cochin seems never to weary of speaking kindly, as well he may, of the African race. In closing his *résumé* of the chapters relating to the French islands, he thus draws the portrait of the negro:

"The negro race is so gentle, that under the yoke it makes no resistance; free from the yoke it commits no abuses. Liberty has not the virtue of restoring to it the faculties denied it by the Creator; alone, deprived, as at St. Domingo, of the intellect of the whites, it will return to a slothful life, and give birth to a very inferior state of society. But, after all, under this climate, which enervates the whites, after essaying all the races one after another to replace the negro race, we are forced to return again to the latter; we find none more vigorous or submissive, more capable of devotion, more accessible to Christianity, more happy to escape its native degradation. This race of men, like all the human species, is divided into two classes, the diligent and the idle; freedom has nothing to do with the second, while it draws from the labor of the first a better yield than servitude."

M. Cochin has much to say in relation to the success of emancipation. Like most European writers, he urges it as a duty alike incumbent upon all nations. But scarcely a single one of the results of slavery—adduced to prove the necessity of emancipation in the French islands, and upon which his arguments for the universal abolition of slavery are based—have ever had an existence in the United States. His general assertions on the subject correspond to the claims of the English Abolitionists as to the results in the islands of Great Britain. Emancipation is a success, they all say, because "slavery was bearing the islands down to financial ruin" in various ways, but especially on account of the continued decrease of population after the slave-trade ceased to keep up the labor forces to the needed extent. Under the reign of slavery, free labor could not be introduced to restore new laborers to the plantations; but with emancipation came the introduction of coolie labor, and with it a revival of cultivation, which has prevented the financial destruction of the islands. The results in the French islands are thus referred to:

"Doubtless production has been reduced, but has never been annihilated; labor has been diminished, but has never wholly ceased. Cast the blame of it, above all, on slavery. Whence comes, then, this abhorrence by the former slaves of their former labor? Freedom is the occasion of it, but servitude the cause. A man visited an abandoned plantation, about which the freed slaves were lazily sleeping. 'See what freedom has made of labor,' said his companions. 'See what servitude has made of laborers,' was the reply."

The view that slavery is the cause of the idleness of the negroes is the one usually urged by the Abolitionists in apologizing for their indolence; but it is not in accordance with the facts. Slavery has not degraded the negro and reduced him to habits of idleness. In his native land he is universally an idler; and all the industry acquired by the race, at all approximating the standard ruling among civilized men, has been in consequence of its reduction to slavery; and, as M. Cochin justly remarks, in referring to the results of emancipation in Hayti, whenever the blacks are deprived of the superintending intellect of the whites, they necessarily retrograde towards their original barbarous condition of indolence and degradation.

The remedy for this tendency to idleness, proposed by the French philanthropists, is the same as that attempted by most of the British islands—the introduction of immigrant labor to such an extent as "to compel the freedmen to work or starve."

In summing up the results of emancipation in the British islands, M. Cochin says:

"The harm produced by emancipation is reduced to the incontestable ruin of a certain number of colonists, and the momentary and inevitable suffering of all. It is worthy of note that the colony which resisted most—Jamaica—suffered most. The colony which most promptly resigned itself, and made efforts to renew the methods, stock and *personnel* of manufacture—Mauritius—scarcely suffered at all, and its wealth is to-day doubled, nearly tripled."

Now, pray, how was it that Mauritius resigned herself to the emancipation policy, and thereby not only escaped suffering, but has been able to triple her exports? The story is soon told. No table is given of the number of slaves in

this island at the time of emancipation: but the number possessed by the planters about the beginning of the present century is stated at 66,613. At the time of emancipation the effective field laborers numbered about 23,000. The method adopted to meet the changed circumstances of the island was the immediate importation of coolies to meet the wants of the planters. Up to 1849 the island had received 106,638 coolie laborers; and from 1849 to 1855 it had received an addition of 76,342—making a total of 182,980, or about eight times as many imported laborers as the island had lost of its field laborers by emancipation! Well may Mauritius boast of having tripled her exports since emancipation! But, then, the world should be distinctly told that all this multiplied prosperity is not due to the increased industry of the emancipated negroes, but to the multiplication of coolie laborers.

Although the inefficiency of the freed negroes in the British West Indies, as a laboring class, is well understood by the public generally, the following additional testimony is here submitted. It is copied from a synopsis of the reports of the governors on the industrial condition of the islands, as given in a British periodical.

Of Jamaica it is said:

"It is the strongly-expressed opinion of Gov. Darling that, on an average of seasons, the export of sugar will rarely exceed 80,000 tons, unless immigrant contract labor be more largely employed, and this leads to the subject of negro industry. The governor sees no prospect 'of an augmentation of the effective strength of that portion of the native population who work for hire on the larger plantations,' because he doubts whether sufficient wages can be given for sugar cultivation to stimulate the negro, who is fonder of his ease than of money."

Of Trinidad it is said:

"The most interesting part of this report refers to immigration. It is known that most of the colonies must have perished, or returned to a state of weeds and jungle, had not laborers been procured from India and China after the Negro Emancipation Act had been passed."

Of Grenada it is said:

"Within the last three years agriculture has made considerable progress, and it has been ascribed to the introduction of Indian laborers. By their industry seven large estates have been reclaimed in the last three years, these having been abandoned when the negro refused to work after his emancipation. They are now in a flourishing condition."

Of Antigua it is said:

"Morality seems to have been almost exiled from Antigua. Out of 4,184 births registered in three years, 2,201 were illegitimate. This proof of vice, it is said, would be strengthened if the number of abortions and premature births could be ascertained. Here children are deemed an incumbrance to the mother; they are badly nursed and badly fed, and are deprived of proper medical attendance. These are among the causes of a declining population. Under slavery these evils did not occur; the planter provided the slave with everything needful. * * * On the whole, the condition and prospects of the colony are considered by Gov. Eyre as unsatisfactory. What is chiefly wanted is a large influx of the industrious coolies."

But we need not dwell longer upon the results of emancipation, in its bearings upon the economical interests of the Colonies of England and France. With all the explanations and apologies that have been offered, no other conclusion can be drawn, than that the freedom of the negroes has rendered them, as a class, wholly unreliable in conducting the cultivation of the estates. And more than this, it is as good as confessed, that the coolie system, though an improvement upon the free negro labor, is also unable to compete with the slave labor of Brazil, Cuba and the United States as heretofore existing; and that a return to Africa for laborers will soon become an economical necessity, equally as imperative in its requirements as any military necessity can be in its demands for a disregard of treaties, laws or constitutions. And, further still, it will be required that this imported labor, to render it efficient, shall be subjected to a plan of control which M. Cochin characterizes as a system of "provisional slavery."

In closing our remarks upon the questions under consideration, attention is again called to the language of M. Cochin, immediately before our slavery was abolished. "The slavery of Spain and the United States," he says, "threatens by unequal competition, the prosperity of our colonies; * * * it exposes Europe, through the reaction of the crises which it excites, to formidable misfortunes."

Here stands confessed the true secret of the policy pursued by European Governments towards American slavery. Our slave labor system had been a power with which their tropical free labor systems could not compete; and it exposed them to "formidable misfortunes!" And what course have these European Governments heretofore pursued under similar circumstances? Have they not always, when in their power, remorselessly stricken down every obstacle in the way of the execution of their purposes of ambition? And is it strange that they should have contributed their aid towards sweeping away the whole system of American slavery, not caring but that it might destroy the existence of the American Republic itself? Has not the doctrine held by us, that the people are capable of self-government and need not the aid of kings to rule them, done as much to bring upon the crowned heads of Europe some of their "formidable misfortunes," as any effect that may have been produced by the cheapness or scarcity of slave labor cotton? What but American sentiments produced the formidable revolutionary movements of 1848 throughout Europe, which came so near overturning half their thrones? And have they forgotten the terrors of that period, or forgiven us as the exciting cause of the calamities which came upon them like a whirlwind?

The hope long indulged by the English people, that the culture of cotton could be developed elsewhere, so as to relieve them from their dependence upon the United States for that great staple, can have no immediate realization. The American production of that article, therefore, must be continued, or their manufactures must greatly diminish their operations. They are thus placed in a dilemma. The American supply of cotton, greatly reduced, would not only diminish their foreign commerce to a ruinous extent, but would perpetuate the present high prices of cotton fabrics, and thus inevitably force the world back again to the old system of household manufacturing, to the detriment of the great manufacturing and commercial interests of the world.

But the difficulties increase the further we extend our examinations into this subject. Should our freedmen, following the example of those of England and France, become inefficient laborers, how are we to replace the labor lost by emancipation, so as to restore our cotton monopoly? We shall then be in precisely the same condition in which England and France would have been placed, had no coolie labor been available to their planters. But where are our planters to find a substitute for the liberated slaves? How are they to secure Chinese, coolies, or native Africans, as immigrant contract laborers? Chinese emigration, it is stated, has been forbidden, and doubtless, through British interference, coolies from India cannot be had except by British and French consent, which will not be granted unless the increase of our cotton culture becomes necessary to them. Immigrants from Africa we cannot obtain, because we have no territory, like England and France, upon the African coast. Portugal may sell us her African subjects, as she originally sold slaves to the Europeans. How, then, are we to renew our cotton monopoly? We are in the power of our foreign enemies—the enemies of democratic principles.

And this is the point towards which, for thirty years, we have been drifting; the condition to which the superior strategy of European statesmanship long since doomed us; when the proud Republic of America, hitherto dreaming of universal dominion, should lie prostrate at the footstool of the European monarchies!

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

I.—THE SOUTHERN COTTON TRADE AND THE EXCISE LAWS.

THE merchants of New Orleans have memorialized the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to the oppressiveness of the system for collecting the Direct Tax upon Cotton, and sent a Commission to Washington upon the subject.

The Memorial assigns the reasons, and proposes the changes given below, and was prepared by the following named gentlemen: John Watt, W. M. Pinkard, A. H. May, S. B. Buckner, F. S. Herron, R. Nugent, C. Fellowes, and A. Miltenberger.

1. The cost of weighing will be greater to the planter in the country than at the point of sale. He must either haul his cotton, at a heavy expense, to a point designated for weighing, or he must pay the expenses of the assessor to his plantation in addition to other costs of weighing.

2. Before moving his cotton he must await the convenience and the pleasure of the assessor, when oftentimes he may thus lose the opportunity of shipping his crop. On many of the tributaries of the main rivers the season of navigation continues but a short time, and the opportunity of shipment once lost, it does not return for a year. The sickness or neglect of an assessor might thus result disastrously to an entire district. It is the interest of the planter, as well to realize on his crop as to avoid the risk of its destruction, to ship it to market as rapidly as it is packed and baled. In this way he might realize on much of his crop as early as October or November. Under the present system he may be compelled to await until January the bailing of his entire crop, thus incurring the risk of its destruction by fire—or he must submit to paying the expenses of repeated journeys of the assessor to weigh, mark, and bond his crop for separate shipments of different portions. And it will often happen that even where the planter and assessor will agree in all respects in reference to compensation, the numerous calls upon the latter from different planters in widely separated localities will necessarily occasion delay which may prove fatal to the interests of the planter.

3. Though there are very many districts, they are still of such extent, and the communications are so difficult, that it will be impracticable for the assessors to visit the numerous plantations and attend to the weighing of cotton, without so multiplying the number of assessors as to defeat the objects of the revenue law. Cotton which might already have been in the market is, we are assured, now awaiting at various points, and in an exposed condition, the pleasure or convenience of the weighers.

4. The difficulties thus interposed in the way of executing their duty will be a strong temptation to Government agents to certify to constructive weights, in order to overcome the impracticabilities of the regulations, or to avoid difficult and unpleasant journeys; and may thus lead to extensive frauds upon the revenue, injurious alike to the planter and to the Government.

5. Many of the points designated for weighing cotton are so inconvenient and so inaccessible to a majority of the planters, that the cost of taking their cotton to the place appointed would be double that of taking it to New Orleans, or Memphis, or Mobile. Some of these points seem to have been selected without any reference to the convenience of the planter, and some of them are practically inaccessible at some periods of the year.

6. The majority of the points where cotton is usually shipped by planters have not been designated as weighing points.

7. On the navigable streams the majority of planters have shipping points on their own places, or very convenient to their plantations. It is an unnecessary hardship to require them, at great cost, to ship from another point especially designated for weighing cotton, when the Government can derive no possible advantage from imposing such a hardship and expense.

8. The majority of planters must depend upon the sale of their cotton to enable them to pay their tax. They must therefore, either sacrifice their cotton by selling to those who wish to speculate upon the necessities, or they must

give bond for the payment of the tax before the cotton will be permitted to leave the district. This bond is a needless hardship, when the cotton is itself sufficient security.

9. Most of the planters have received advances from merchants on the pledge of shipping their cotton to the merchant who advances. The requiring of the bond, by placing the cotton under the control of Treasury officers, on its arrival at the port, interferes with this arrangement between the merchant and the planter. It enables the collector to send it to such bonded warehouse as he may designate, before transferring it to the merchant, and thus to accumulate unnecessary cost to the merchant and the planter.

10. The bonding system may seriously interfere with the discharging of cargoes by steamers. A vessel arriving after Custom-house office hours on Saturday cannot claim the right, under existing regulations, to discharge cotton from another district, until office hours the following Monday. This will seriously interfere with the interests of navigation, and must enhance the price of freights to compensate for the costs of detention to vessels.

11. Though existing regulations authorize the collector to receive the tax on constructive delivery of the cotton on the levee, and then to relinquish it to the merchant, it imposes no obligation on him to do so, but leaves it optional with him to retain it as long as may suit his convenience, thus accumulating unnecessary charges for the custody of cotton. This might materially interfere with advantageous sales, and result in serious loss both to the planter and the merchant.

12. New Orleans, Mobile, Memphis, Savannah, Galveston, Charleston, Wilmington, Apalachicola, and several other ports, are the chief points in the cotton districts for the reception and sale of cotton. The planter who produces cotton in the district within which either of these points is situated, is authorized to ship his cotton without weighing, bonding or paying the tax, and in such proportion as he may choose, to the point of sale within his district. But a planter who may be only fifty yards beyond the line of this district must first have his cotton weighed, marked and bonded, or else must pay his tax before he is permitted to remove it. The law is thus made to bear upon him with unnecessary and unequal severity, and he is deprived of the advantages which would result from an early shipment and sale of his crop.

13. The Government would have as good security for collecting the tax on the unassessed cotton brought to the point of sale from places fifty yards, or fifty miles, or five hundred miles beyond the limits of the district, as it would have for collecting the tax on the unassessed cotton shipped from within the limits of the district. The same regulations which secure the payment of the tax on the last named class of cotton will also secure it on the first, and, if prescribed, will avoid the complications of different systems. The weighing and marking and bonding in the country is therefore unnecessary to the collector of the revenue; and the restrictions imposed by the present system are consequently needlessly oppressive.

14. The inconvenience of this system will be perceived, by supposing a tax imposed upon grain in the grain-growing districts of the North, as it now is upon cotton in the cotton-growing regions of the South; and by the further hypothesis that each one of those States should be subdivided into numerous collection districts, beyond which the farmer could not ship his grain until it was weighed and bonded. Every obstacle interposed to delay the grain on its way to the final market in New York would be a positive injury to the farmer and a detriment to the Government, and every enlargement of the districts, by giving greater freedom to the movement of the grain, would be a positive advantage to all parties; until, by making the entire grain-growing region a single collection district for the tax on grain, the crop would be free to seek its proper market without restriction, and the grain in the hands of the merchants would be under proper regulation, the best security for the collection of the tax. The same rule is equally applicable to the actual tax on cotton, or on sugar, or other staples.

13. The restrictions at present imposed on moving the cotton, in addition to the heavy tax assessed upon it, will tend seriously to discourage further production of that staple, and will thus act injuriously upon the entire financial condition of the country. If the planter cannot ship his crop to market without being compelled to sacrifice a large part of it to the rigors imposed by onerous regulations, he will naturally turn his attention to a different system of agriculture.

In consideration of the above-mentioned, and of many other inconveniences of the present system,

Your memorialists would beg leave to suggest such modifications of the existing regulations as will secure an object which is desirable to all the parties interested: To the Government, to the planter, and to the merchant.

Having reference to the cotton tax only, *we therefore recommend that all the cotton-growing States be arranged into a single cotton collection district for the purpose of collecting the tax on cotton.* The authority for such a change of organization exists in section seven of the act to provide internal revenue, etc., approved June 30, 1864. (See Boutwell's edition Internal Revenue Laws, page 4.) The act alluded to, in connection with that to which it refers, authorizes the President "to alter the respective collection districts as the public interests may require," without limiting the number of States which may be included in one district.

Your memorialists, therefore, are convinced that the authority exists to establish a single cotton collection district which may embrace every cotton-growing State.

That the establishing of such a district would be to permit all the cotton in the possession of the planters to be shipped without being shackled by oppressive regulations, to the best and most convenient markets to be found within the district.

That such an arrangement, by effectually removing the existing embargo, would afford instantaneous relief to the planter, as well as to the commercial community, and permit the cotton to come forward to market.

That it would result greatly to the benefit of the Government, by securing a more speedy and economical collection of the tax, and would greatly diminish the chances of oppressing the planter, of injuring the merchant, and of defrauding the revenue.

The following named factors and merchants have already signed the Memorial to the Secretary of the Treasury:

Butler, Terry & Co.
Childers, Tarleton & Co.
Aiken & Rainey
A. Henderson, Peale & Co.
Martin & Butts
R. L. Walker
Pinckard & Steele
Fellows, Ferguson & Hervey
N. C. Gullett
Payne, Huntington & Co.
Bradley, Wilson & Co.
Connor & Seixas
Thornhill & Richardson
Lacey, Terry & Co.
Jurey & Harris
T. H. & J. M. Allen & Co.
H. Allison & Co.
Foster & Co.
J. B. Powell
J. J. Michie & Co.
Stephenson & May
Walker & Vaught
Carroll, Hoyt & Co.
Wolfe & Thompson
J. P. Higgins & Co.
Johnson, Denegre & Penn
C. Fellows
Wm. Fellows, Jr.
Perkins, Swenson & Co.
Folger & Co.
Blake & Tower
J. G. Landry

Beggs, Wolfley & Co.
Monroe & Reddington
John L. Lee & Co.
Duval & Smith
W. Cooper
W. J. Frierson & Co.
Kenney, Blois & Co.
Stewart & Brother
T. & S. Henderson
C. A. Green & Co.
F. J. DaSilva
A. B. Charpentier
Chambers & Lattin
C. N. Worthington
Klauche & Wiltz
J. & G. Cromwell
Voisin & Drouet
J. E. Anderson
W. H. Bunnell
Hewitt, Norton & Co.
Oliver P. Jackson
Hunt & Macaulay
Warren, Crawford & Co.
Price, Howe & Tupper
R. C. Morse
Randall & Co.
John Phelps & Co.
S. B. Newman & Co.
H. W. Farley & Co.
W. T. Bartley
M. J. Zantz & Co.
Seale, Colomb & Co.

Ober, Atwater & Co.
Bussey & Co.
H. Ware & Son
Richard Flower & Maes
Darby, Moulton & Co.
Sutherland, Warren & Co.
Ethell & Thomas
Lee, Crandall & Co.
H. Von Phul, Jr. & Co.
Van Ornum & Trigant
Kirkpatrick, Newsa & Keith
Hamilton & Dunnica
S. O. & T. A. Nelson
Creedy, Nickerson & Co.
George W. West
Wm. Edwards & Co.
Blakemore, Woodbridge & Co.
Stuard & Suyusack
Walthall & Co.
Gold, Roach & Co.
John S. Wallis
Parham & Blunt
A. Levi
Boyd, Coleman & Graham
James Baily
James N. Putnam
Wm. J. Britton
Jonas & Eggleston
Edw. A. Yorke & Co.
Topp, Dickenson, Hill & Co.
B. S. Harper & Co.
E. B. Fuqua & Co.

(Continued on next page.)

J. B. Gribble
Bruff, Brother & Seaver
P. H. Foley
Moses Greenwood & Son
Battie & Noble
Seymour, Yarbrough & Co.
Commings, Brown & Co.
Wm. B. Tullis
Violett, Black & Co.
Meter, Deutsch & Weiss
Estlin & Co.
Hamilton & Banks
Calvin Roberts
Campbell & Strong
Stewart, Hyde & Co.
Logan, Soniat & Claiborne
T. J. Bonnabel
J. M. Urquhart
Sam. De Bow & Co.
Bower & Garner
Bouigny & Esclapton
R. K. Walker & Co.
Harlow J. Phelps & Co.
Aicus & Sherk
Webster & Co.
Longstreet, Owen & Co.
R. H. Fraser
Wattie, Hawthorne & Co.
J. W. Burbridge & Co.
J. P. Harrison & Sons
Nalle, Day & Co.
Scott, Cage & Co.
Hogan & Patton
Rossa, Prothro & Co.
James D. Blair & Co.
Rawlins & Murrell
Thomas K. Price
Levy & Haas
R. Heakely & Co.
A. Miltenberger & Co.
W. S. Donnell
Kahn, Adler & Co.
Wm. R. Greene & Bros.

H. T. Lonsdale
R. L. Adams
H. Kendall Carter
Speake & Buckner
McLean & Tarleton
T. H. Stephenson
Denis & Lewis
Wyche & Richardson
Marshall J. Smith & Co.
S. B. Buckner, Prest. Com. Ins. Co.
Cowan & Mayo
J. C. Huey & Co.
Levy, Driter & Co.
Thomas M. Scott & Co.
Fulkerson, McLaurin & Co.
A. Lane
Jas. A. White
Robert Hare
Charles G. Johnson
Given, Watts & Co.
Wm. C. Cook
Smith & Carr
M. Gills & Co.
W. S. Wheeler
John Watts & Co.
Walters, Cooper & Elder
S. W. B. Brady
J. P. Manico & Co.
O. Brunsard & Co.
Golson & Sanders
J. F. Caldwell & Co.
Woods, Mathews & Co.
S. Whitehead & Co.
Montgomery & Bro.
D. R. Carroll & Co.
J. W. Gillespie & Co.
J. B. Murison & Co.
S. H. Kennedy & Co.
Horrel, Gayle & Co.
Lewis, Cominsure & West
Tunstall, Chassing & Co.
McLean & Tarleton

Brooks, Macdonald & Co.
John Chadie & Bro
Winston, Morrison & Co.
Britton, Moore & Bragg
H. Tully & Co.
F. J. Herron
W. C. Lipscomb & Co.
Spyker & Sandidge
Speed, Summers & Co.
W. B. Thompson
A. D. Henkel & Co.
Wright, Allen & Co.
Ellis & Chamberlain
E. L. Shuff & Co.
Ware & Bro.
Stewart, Galbreath & Fizer
Ar. Miltenberger
George S. Mandeville
Byrne, Vance & Co.
Summers & Brannins
Senthell & Prather
Waddy, Thompson & Co.
S. B. McConico
Roman & Olivier
Martin, Hawthorn & Co.
A. D. Kelly & Kemper
W. Wren, Miss. Cotton Press
W. J. Wheiss & Co.
Barrett & Lessaier
Hugh McCall
Clinton & Richards
C. L. Walmley & Co.
Lowe & Bignon
Glimmer, Hopkins & Co.
Bloch Brothers
E. W. Rodki
Merritt, Dunham, McKinnell & Co.
J. W. Champlin
Elliott & McKeever
M. Musson, Prest. Factors and Traders' Ins. Co.
J. O. Nixon

2.—GROWTH OF MEMPHIS, 1866.

The assessed value of property in Memphis has increased from \$4,600,000 in 1851 to \$17,996,000 in 1866; and for 1867 the assessment is put at \$30,819,298. The amount of business done is thus estimated in the *Appeal*:

The estimated total transactions of 1865-66 is \$92,095,000, which, against \$45,636,397 in 1860-61, would give an increase of \$39,870,760, as follows:

	1860-61.	1865-66.	Increase.
Value of Cotton receipts.....	\$17,558,157	\$33,643,000	\$16,085,000
Groceries and Produce.....	12,380,000	24,160,000	11,780,000
Dry Goods.....	4,700,000	7,980,000	3,190,000
Manufactured articles.....	5,019,740	9,000,000	3,980,260
Boots, Shoes, Hats, & Clothing	2,327,000	4,872,000	2,545,000
Hardware and Cutlery.....	1,600,000	2,600,000	1,000,000
Jewelry.....	572,000	642,000	70,000
Furniture.....	617,500	1,080,000	462,500
Hides and Peltries.....	300,000	400,000	100,000
Coal.....	442,000	1,000,000	558,000
Ice.....	120,000	240,000	120,000
Total.....	\$45,636,397	\$92,095,000	\$39,870,760

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—PROSPECTS OF THE COTTON CROP.

THE Cotton Planters' Association of Mississippi have published an interesting circular upon this subject. We extract as follows:

To this date only 323 planters of the counties of Hinds, Madison, Carroll, Copiah, Claiborne and Scott have reported. This number in 1860 employed

7,624 hands, cultivated 84,311 acres in cotton and produced 46,631 bales of cotton. In 1866 they employed 3,495 hands and planted 32,222 acres of cotton. Of the number of acres planted this year a considerable amount has been thrown out in consequence of the continual rains, during the cultivating season; of the above number of planters about one-fifth report good stands and the percentage of work per hand as compared with 1860 does not exceed two-thirds or 66 per cent. From the best and most reliable information in our possession, we feel safe in stating that the crop of Mississippi will be less by one-half than was anticipated two months since, in consequence of a most unprecedented drought, by which the greater portion of the State has suffered.

Of the many false reports sent to New York, and from thence, of course, across the water, to which our attention has been called, is one forwarded from Mobile a few days since, estimating the cotton crop of this year at 2,600,000 bales, putting Mississippi down for 600,000 bales, about one-half as much as she produced in 1860, when we cultivated nearly three times the number of acres in cotton we are cultivating this year.

For the benefit of our planting friends, we publish the following calculations, based upon information which we deem reliable, and which we think proves most conclusively that by the first of January, 1867, the supply now on hand in Europe, including all afloat, will be exhausted—and further, that the supply for the year 1867 will fall very far short of the demand.

July 18, 1866, Mr. S. G. Laughland, of Liverpool, reports the following which is published in the New Orleans *Price Current* of the 11th inst.:

Stock on hand.....	880,000 bales.
American afloat.....	35,000 "
All other descriptions afloat.....	646,000 "

Number of bales.....1,561,000 bales.

In the New Orleans *Picayune*, of the 12th inst., under the head of "Dissipation of Another Delusion," we find the following: In 1850 the weekly consumption of England was 29,125 bales; in 1860 it was increased to 48,253 bales; and in the same ratio, we add, in 1866 the consumption will increase to 59,717 bales per week. Add to this (which we find in the Liverpool Cotton Brokers' Association Weekly Circular, May 31st, 1866,) 17,124, the actual weekly export, makes the quantity required weekly by England 76,831 bales. Multiply that amount by 20 (which is the number of weeks from the 18th of July to the 5th of December,) and it will amount to 1,536,620, leaving a balance on hand on the 5th of December, '66, of the above stock, as reported by Mr. Laughland, of 24,380 bales.

To continue the calculation, if England requires 76,831 bales per week for consumption and export, she will require for the year 1867, without any increase of machinery, 3,995,212 bales. We have seen various estimates of the quantity of cotton which England will receive the present year, from the Indies, Brazil and all other countries, other than America. These estimates vary from 1,800,000 to 2,800,000 bales. Suppose she receives the largest of these estimates in 1867—2,800,000 bales; deduct it from the amount required (3,995,212 bales) and it leaves a deficiency of 1,295,212 bales, a larger amount, we honestly believe, than will be made in the United States in 1866.

In order to prove that we do not over-estimate the quantity which Europe will require in 1867, we annex the following figures taken from a reliable source: "In 1860 the total supply in Europe was 1,797,400,000 pounds, equal to 4,493,500 bales of 400 pounds each. Having no reliable data by which we can ascertain the stock on hand on the 1st of January, '61, we suppose it to have been 650,000 bales, which deducted from the above, leaves 3,843,500 as the amount consumed in 1860, and varying but little from our estimates for 1867.

2.—THE GRAIN CROPS OF THE COUNTRY.

A writer in one of the Western papers calculates that, as a bushel of corn contains sixty solid pounds of grain, the crop of the current year, even if it should

not exceed 80,000,000 bushels, will amount to four thousand eight hundred million (4,800,000,000) pounds of grain, besides an equal weight in fodder. The value to the country of such an aggregate of agricultural wealth, springing from a single crop, is not easily conceived. Though wheat realizes a higher price per bushel in the market, its positive value as a life-sustaining product is much inferior to that of maize, since the former averages but little more than one third as much to the acre in the quantity grown. The statistics of the production of corn in the United States for the last twenty five years are as follows, viz :

	<i>Bushels.</i>
In 1840, total crop.....	377,531,875
In 1850, total crop.....	692,671,104
In 1860, total crop.....	830,451,707
In 1866, total crop (estimated).....	1,039,000,000

The writer whose calculations we have noticed remarks upon this showing as follows:—"The increase being at the rate of four per cent. per annua, the aggregate crop of 1866 will be over one thousand millions of bushels! Estimate this at sixty cents per bushel, and conceive, if you can, the feeding power of this enormous quantity of Indian corn."

No wonder that the farmers in the West exult in the prospects afforded by their luxuriant fields. They have surely been disappointed, as no staple of agriculture seems so well adapted to resist the changes of our climate. Taking the last twenty years together, the average yield per acre in the Buckeye State is not far from thirty-three bushels. Corn is a commodity which should not be despised.

3.—CROPS IN THE PRAIRIE LANDS OF MISSISSIPPI.

A planter near Columbus, Miss., writes as follows :

"The attempt to raise a *very* large crop of cotton has resulted in the failure of both corn and cotton. The negroes will not work as they did formerly, and those who plant with that expectation will always be disappointed. Eight acres to the hand is as much as the best hands will make and save; for one of the difficulties of cotton-planting is the saving of the cotton after it has opened.

"I have given you these facts, and you may rely upon them. This region, which is one of the best in the South, and sustained less loss from the war, both in labor and capital, will not make more than one-fourth or one-third of the amount of cotton raised in these counties in 1860; and if it is so here, it must be much worse in other parts of the South. If we have a bad, wet fall, there will not be one-sixth as much cotton saved as was in 1860. I hope our planters will learn wisdom from the sad experience of this year, and will plant less cotton and more corn to the hand, and thus be enabled to work both better, and to save more of each."

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

1.—NORFOLK AND THE GREAT WEST.

MR. JEFFERSON always maintained that Norfolk would eventually become a greater commercial mart than New York. Colonel Hughes, who made a report upon its connections with the West, gave at large the basis of this opinion:

Norfolk is, beyond dispute, the most admirable seaport on the Atlantic seacoast; and Cairo, in the same latitude, is the great trade centre of the Mississippi Valley. A study of the map will show that the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers is the grand converging point of the Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Des Moines, Mississippi, Illinois, Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee rivers—the geographical centre of their trade, and the converging and diverging point of full five thousand miles of inland steamboat navigation—a vastly

greater amount of navigation than concentrates at any other gathering-point in the world. So, likewise, Norfolk is the great central seaport of the Atlantic; midway between the Canadas and the West Indies; on the finest, most convenient, safe, and capacious harbor on this continent; open at all periods of the year; accessible from any point with any wind; and better calculated for a mighty trade than any harbor in the world. Of this city and harbor Lieutenant Maury, the highest authority on these subjects, thus wrote long ago:

"As to the natural advantages of position, depth of water, and accessibility by land and sea, Norfolk has no competitor among the seaport towns of the Atlantic. Midway the Atlantic coast line of the United States, Norfolk is the most convenient, because the most central point, where the produce of the interior may be collected, and whence it may be distributed, North and South, right and left, among the markets of the seaboard.

"Its climate is delightful. It is exactly of that happy middle temperature, where the frosts of the North bite not, and where the pestilence of the South walketh not. Its harbor is commodious, and as safe as can be. It is never blocked up with ice, and as to the egress and ingress between it and the sea, it possesses all the facilities that the mariner himself could desire. It has the double advantage of an outer and inner harbor. The inner harbor is as smooth as any mill-pond; in it vessels lie with the most perfect security, where every natural facility imaginable is offered for lading and unlading. Being ready for sea, the outward-bound trader, dropping down from his snug mooring, and approaching the sea, finds a storm raging from the outside. The outer harbor then affords a shelter until the fury of the gale is spent, when the white-winged messenger trips her anchor, trims to the breeze, and goes forth, rejoicing on her way, to the haven where she would be. Moreover, the prevailing winds in the parallel of Norfolk are westerly winds, which are fair for coasting, and for going seaward in any direction. A little to the South of that parallel, you find the northeast trades, which are fair winds for the inward-bound Norfolk vessel. Then, there is the Gulf Stream—that mighty river in the ocean—upon the verge of which Norfolk stands. It flows up with a current, which, without the help of sweeps, sails, or steam, will carry the European-bound vessel out of Norfolk at the rate of nearly one hundred miles a day, directly on her course. Then, at the sides of this, and counter to it, are eddies which favor the same vessel on her return to Norfolk. These hawse her along and shorten her voyage by many a mile, such are the natural advantages of Norfolk, seaward."

But these are not all the advantages of Norfolk, or of the eastern harbors of Virginia, as receptacles of a continental commerce. The trade of the West is growing into such immense proportions as imperatively to require the opening of the shortest and most direct lines of transit. In the infancy of the West, and during the sparsity of settlements and the scarcity of capital, its trade was susceptible of control, and could be diverted from its natural and most direct channels by artificial means. But the case is now changed. The shortest lines of transit must be sought, and will be preferred; and this, not only with reference to the land transit, but to the ocean passage.

In regard to the passages of the ocean, it is to be observed that the old routes of steam navigation have been modified with the progress of improvement in steam naval architecture. At first, the narrowest passages of the Atlantic were sought; and, as both Liverpool and Halifax were British ports, British steamers enjoyed almost a monopoly of the ocean steam navigation. But of late years, this state of things has changed. Steam naval architecture has been carried to such perfection that the great vessels no longer hug the shore of either continent until reaching the narrowest passages, before striking out upon the main, but boldly steam forth directly into mid-ocean, regardless of the breadth of the passage, pursuing the most direct lines of transit. The direct passage from New York is preferred to the circuitous one which took Halifax in the way, and the broad passage from Norfolk to Liverpool or St. Nazaire, inspires no more awe than the narrow one from Newfoundland to the Irish Cliffs. Already a direct line of ocean steamers is established between Norfolk and St. Nazaire.

But the case does not continue the same with respect to seaports south of Norfolk. Indeed, the general course of the ocean winds and currents renders a northward curve even in the passage from Norfolk to Europe desirable, and sometimes necessary, for both sailing vessels and steamers. In the admirable charts of navigation prepared by Lieut. Maury, and published in his "Sailing Directions," the truth of this observation is plainly presented to the eye, and it is made obvious that the trade of all ports of the United States, south of Norfolk, must coast the continent until it reaches the latitude of that city, before striking out across the main. Even if the trade of the Mississippi Valley could reach seaports south of Norfolk by a shorter overland route than the Norfolk route, it would gain nothing by going to these southern ports, for the reason, that after embarking upon the ocean, it would still have virtually to pass Norfolk on its passage to Europe. Norfolk, therefore, possesses over all Northern seaports the advantage of being nearer by overland route to the centres of Western trade; and possesses, over all Southern seaports, the advantage of being nearer by the ocean routes to all European ports.

What is here said of Norfolk, holds true of any point on the waters adjacent to Hampton Roads; and applies as well to Newport News, West Point, City Point, and Hampton. I speak of Norfolk alone simply because it is more prominently before the public mind.

Cairo being the centre of the Western trade, and Norfolk the most eligible seaport for its shipment abroad, the one connected with the system of railroads in Kentucky, and the other with the system in Virginia, I can conceive of no work more important, both in its continental and local relations, than the Virginia and Kentucky railroads. A comparison of the distance between Cairo and the Eastern cities will still further display the importance of this route, direct from Cairo to Norfolk, and of the Bristol and Cumberland Gap link of it. The distance of Norfolk from Cairo in an air line is 650 miles. The distance on a railroad line, passing through Danville, Kentucky, Cumberland Gap, Bristol, Lynchburg and Petersburg, is 810 miles, and could be reduced to 750, on straight line. The distance from Cairo to New York is 1,200 miles, and to Baltimore, by the shortest route, 885 miles. The distance from Cairo to the mouth of the Mississippi River is, by the curve of the river, 1,119 miles, and by railroad via New Orleans and the lower river, 665 miles. But the trade which takes this route must, after reaching the mouth, skirt the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, a distance of more than fifteen hundred miles, before reaching a point in the Gulf Stream opposite Norfolk on its route to Europe; and must encounter, moreover, the damaging effects of the Gulf climate. Placing them in tabular form, these distances are as follows:

	Miles.
From Cairo to Norfolk.....	810 or 705
" " New York.....	1,200
" " Baltimore.....	885
" " To the mouth of the Mississippi by water.....	1,119
" " To the mouth of the Mississippi river by land.....	665

The time is not far distant when the immense trade which converges at Cairo will refuse to traverse a distance of 1,200 miles to reach New York, or of 885 miles to reach Baltimore, or of more than 2,000 miles in making the tour of the Gulf, and will prefer to move directly to Norfolk, or the deep waters of the Lower James river, over a distance of 750 miles.

The case is nearly as strong in favor of this direct line to Norfolk, if we take Louisville as the starting-point; and is not materially weaker if we take Cincinnati. The distances by actually constructed and projected railroads from Louisville to various points on tide-water are as follows:

To New York.....	1,065 miles.
To Baltimore.....	730 "
To Norfolk.....	675 "
To ship navigation at City Point, Va.....	600 "

The distances by railroad from Cincinnati to the same points are as follows :

To New York.....	925 miles.
To Baltimore.....	590 "
To Norfolk, via Bristol.....	702 "
To City Point, via Bristol.....	632 "

This distance in favor of Baltimore is neutralized by the fact that trade, after reaching that city, must still move one hundred and fifty miles before reaching the ocean, which it enters in the vicinity of Norfolk. The distance via Baltimore to the Capes from Cincinnati is, in fact, 750 miles, or 50 miles further than to Norfolk.

Whether, therefore, we assume Cincinnati, or Louisville, or Cairo, as the point of departure for the trade of the West, the route through Cumberland Gap, with a single exception, offers the shortest transit to the seaboard. The only route that competes with our own in point of distance, and competes only with reference to Cincinnati, is that through West Virginia over the projected Covington and Ohio railroad. The intervention of a new State on that line, politically antagonistic to Virginia, has clouded the prospects of that great improvement, and cannot fail to engender discord in its management. At my present writing nothing has been definitely accomplished or settled towards insuring the completion of that great improvement. By means of the road which we have in charge, Virginia may reach the railroad systems of the West simply by extending her own chain of roads, on her own soil, to her own western border.

2.—SOUTHERN RAILROAD ROUTE TO THE PACIFIC.

The proposed railroad from Knoxville to Memphis will be an important link in this line of communication, as we shall show hereafter. The route west of Texas it is said will be provided for by Northern capitalists, at the head of whom is John C. Fremont.

The plan is to connect the line of railroads running through the Southern part of Texas, thence to Monterey, with Guayamas, now in Mexico, but which is soon expected to be in the United States.

The cultivatable and inhabitable region is to be traversed, and not the arid plains, and a mining country is to be pierced through by it during its whole extension through what is now Mexico. This is part and parcel of the scheme of a "liberal loan," which is to be repaid with concessions of territory. This or a permitted protectorate over American interests in Mexico, is to make this railroad enterprise safe at first and very profitable afterward. With Fremont at the head of it, it will be sure to have congressional sanction and assistance. Will New Orleans see that its connection with this line of railroad is speedily made?

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

1. UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA. We are glad to ascertain that the number of students will reach between five and six hundred the present year, which is a degree of prosperity scarcely ever enjoyed before.

The MEDICAL DEPARTMENT consists of Drs. Howard, Cabell, Davis, Maupin and Chancellor; at the head of the LAW SCHOOL is John B. Minor, LL. D.; William Werlenbaker is Secretary of the Faculty, and Reverend I. S. Lindsay, Chaplain. There is a teacher of *Gymnastics*, Messrs. Toy, Garnett, Lanza, and Smead, are teachers of the *Languages and Mathematics*.

The fees in the Literary department, room-rent and board, amount to \$360 per annum; in the Law, \$365; in the Medical, \$390.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SCHOOLS.

Basil L. Glidersleeve, Ph. D., Professor of Ancient Languages.

M. Schele De Vere, LL. D., Professor of Modern Languages.

Charles S. Venable, Professor of Mathematics.

Francis H. Smith, A. M., Professor of Natural Philosophy.

S. Maupin, M. D., Professor of Chemistry.

Wm. H. McGuffey, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy.

Geo. Fred. Holmes, LL. D., Professor of History and General Literature.

2. **WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.** This veteran institution at Williamsburg, Va., is again revived, and we find the following reference to it in a recent *Exchange*:

William and Mary alone has begun anew her career under circumstances peculiarly unfavorable and depressing. Almost without a "local habitation," because of the vandalic destruction of a portion of the college buildings and desecration of those remaining by the Federal soldiery, she again lifts her proud face for the third time in her history, from the dust and ashes of her fallen temples, and eloquently, yet, with all her ancient dignity, pleads that her past glory, her noble services and great sacrifices shall not be forgotten. For the third time since its foundation, the College is now in ruins, each time having perished by the devouring element. The original building was burned in 1705, the second in February, 1859, and the third, completed a few months before the beginning of the late war, was destroyed by the Federal soldiery in September, 1862, upon their compulsory evacuation of Williamsburg in consequence of the approach of a Confederate force. It is a notable circumstance, and one that will live as an ineffaceable stigma upon the military annals of the North, that this College survived the revolutionary struggle, and although several times in the hands of the British escaped uninjured; its occupation as quarters by the forces of Cornwallis on their march to Yorktown, and remained to be offered among other noble sacrifices to Yankee malignity; its crumbling walls and mouldering ashes, mute, but eloquent, commentaries upon the boasted civilization and heroism of those who call themselves, *par excellence*, the *savans* and heroes of the age.

5. **UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, at Athens.**—From a recent publication, we insert as follows:

The action of the Board of Trustees, in enlarging the facilities for education in the University, was promptly and most wisely conformed to this new era in the history of the University. They did just what was wanted. They did it exactly at the time and in the way that it was wanted. Four new Professors—men of mind and mark—have been elected to Professorships that are virtually connected with the kind of education now needed in this State; nor can we doubt that the foresight evinced in this action, will have a most salutary effect in binding the confidence of the people still more strongly to the institution. Taken in this connection, the establishment of a School of Engineers, which is designed to prepare young men for the professional business of engineering, is a most auspicious movement in the right direction.

While the professorships have been so filled as to meet the approval of the well-wishers of the University, we feel that the friends of Agricultural progress have special reasons to congratulate themselves on the election of Dr. Jones to the Terrell Professorship of Agriculture. On the resignation of Dr. Lee, it at once occurred to us, that of all our scientific acquaintances Dr. Jones was the man whose knowledge of practical agriculture, obtained in this climate in the management of his own plantation, combined with his thorough attainments in Natural History, Physical, Chemical, and Agricultural Science, best qualified him to be useful

in this position. It is a selection most creditable to the Trustees, and will give wide and increasing satisfaction to all interested in the Agricultural Department of the Institution.

4. **COLLEGE OF CHARLESTON, S. C.**—Our noble old Alma Mater issues the following programme for the future, and elevated as has been her mission in the past, there are indications that in future it will be more elevated still:

The Faculty of the College of Charleston would respectfully inform parents and guardians of young gentlemen desirous of obtaining a collegiate education, that this Institution has been re-opened under very favorable auspices, and at a greatly reduced rate of tuition, the terms of which are only Fifty Dollars per annum, payable quarterly. Students from the interior can obtain board at reasonable rates in respectable private families residing in the city.

ADMISSION.—Candidates for admission into the Freshman Class must be able to translate into English the whole of Caesar's Commentaries, Virgil, Cicero's Select Orations, and Sallust. They must also possess an accurate and minute knowledge of the Latin Grammar and Prosody.

In Greek, they will be expected to possess a thorough knowledge of Valpy's Greek Grammar, Anthon's Edition, and be able to translate and parse with readiness any portion of Jacobs' Greek Reader, the first two books of Xenophon's Anabasis, and the first book of Homer's Iliad.

In Mathematics, their knowledge will be expected to include arithmetic (including fractions, vulgar and decimal), extraction of Square and Cube Roots, Young's Algebra through Simple Equations, and the first three books of Legendre's Geometry.

Geography, both Ancient and Modern, will be the subject of a rigid examination.

N. B.—Students will be admitted to a partial course upon special application.

FACULTY.—N. R. Middleton, LL. D., President, Professor of Logic, Political Economy, and the Evidences of Christianity, and Horry Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy.

Rev. James W. Miles, A. M., Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature, and of Roman and Greek Antiquities.

Lewis R. Gibbs, M. D., Professor of Astronomy, Physics and Chemistry.

John McCrady, A. M., Professor of Mathematics.

F. A. Poreber, A. M., Professor of History, Ancient and Modern, Rhetoric, Belles-Lettres, English Composition and Elocution.

F. S. Holmes, A. M., Professor of Geology, Palaeontology and Zoology, and Curator of the Museum.

5. **UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE OR CUMBERLAND UNIVERSITY.**—Its circular appears in our advertising columns. Its annual attendance of students numbered from 500 to 600 before the war. The cost of instruction and board is very moderate. The *Law School* has ever been regarded one of the best in America.

LITERARY FACULTY.—T. C. Anderson, D. D. President.

R. Beard, D. D., Professor Ancient Languages and Theology.

B. W. McDonnold, D.D., Prof. Mathematics.

Julius Blau, Professor Modern Languages.

J. W. Boyd, A. M., Principal Preparatory.

6. LOUISIANA STATE SEMINARY, near Alexandria.

We have received the "Official Register of the Officers and Cadets of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy," near Alexandria, for the session ending June 30th, 1866. From the Register we learn that there were 108 students in attendance, mostly from Louisiana, but several from Texas, Arkansas and Mississippi. It is expected there will be at least 200 students present the next session, which began the first Monday in September. The Register, we may remark, is very neatly printed, and creditable to the typography of the *Alexandria Democrat* office, from which it was issued.

7. HILLSBORO MILITARY ACADEMY, Hillsboro, North Carolina.

Gen. Colston has taken charge of the Hillsboro Military Academy, founded by the gallant Colonel C. C. Tew, who fell at Sharpsburg.

The buildings are new and comfortable, consisting of handsome barracks erected in 1850, for the special purposes of a Military School, and sufficient to accommodate 150 Cadets; together with mess hall, hospital and all other necessary buildings. The situation is about a mile from the town of Hillsborough, within a few hundred yards of the North Carolina Central Railroad, and in a region unsurpassed for health. It offers special inducements to the students from the Southern States, being from four to six hundred miles nearer to them than the great schools of Virginia and Maryland.

General Colston's object will be to make this Academy the great *Polytechnic School* of the State of N. C. and one to which all, from every State, may resort with advantage.

8. THE MEDICAL COLLEGES OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA are again in successful operation. In regard to the latter, located at Augusta, it may be said:

The character of the old members of the Faculty is too well known to require any allusion on our part. In the chair of Obstetrics

we find a gentleman whose reputation is wide as the country, and whose attainments in that particular branch of the profession, gives him a position second to none in this or any other country. So, too, of the Professor of Surgery, and the Practice of Medicine. These two distinguished practitioners have been connected with the College we believe since its organization. They are fully identified with its history, and are jealous of its fame. Their success not only in private practice, but also as accomplished and successful lecturers, gives the strongest proof of their fitness for the positions they occupy.

9. NEW ORLEANS MEDICAL SCHOOL.—Its circular appears in our advertising department.

The faculty comprises young, active and able men. The eleventh annual course opens on the 12th of November, Dr. D. Warren Brickley is Dean. The fees are as follows:

All Tickets.....	\$140
Matriculation (once).....	5
Practical Anatomy.....	10
Diploma in Medicine.....	30
Diploma in Pharmacy.....	15

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT — UNIVERSITY OF NASHVILLE. — Lectures begin first Monday of November. The Museum and building are in fine condition.

PROFESSORS. — Joseph Jones, M. D., (late Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College of Georgia) Professor of Pathology.

W. K. Bowling M. D., Prof. of Institute and Practice of Medicine, and Dean of the Faculty.

Thos E. Jennings, M. D., Prof. of Anatomy.

J. Berrien Lindsley, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy.

C. K. Winston, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence.

Wm. T. Briggs, M. D., Professor of Surgical Anatomy and Physiology.

John M. Watson, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children.

Paul F. Eve, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery.

T. B. Buchanan, M. D., Curator of Museum, and Prosecutor to the Chairs of Anatomy and Surgery.

V. S. Lindsley, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy.

JOURNAL OF THE WAR.

REPRESENTING THE VIEWS AND OPINIONS WHICH OBTAINED, AND THE CONDITION OF THINGS WHICH EXISTED AT THE DATE OF EACH DAY'S ENTRY, IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES, OR IN PORTIONS OF THEM; THE ORIGINAL ENTRIES, WITH SUBSEQUENT NOTES, ETC.—(Continued.) BY THE EDITOR.—1862.

"Oh, who that shared them ever shall forget
Th' emotions of the spirit-rousing time?"

SCOTT'S LORD OF THE ISLES.

"Now Civil Wounds are stopped—Peace lives again."

RICHARD III., ACT V., SC. IV.

JACKSON, MISS., WEDNESDAY, 22d Oct., 1866.—Conversed last night with Gen. Ruggles at his quarters. He has been military commander of this district, now superseded perhaps by Gen. Pemberton. Gen. Sparrow, Senator for Louisiana, and Duncan Kenner, member of the lower House of Congress,

present. Kenner says the Yankees stole his valuable plate and horses and sacked his place.

Bragg has reported to Richmond the particulars of the Perryville fight. We took, it seems, 15 pieces of artillery and about 4,000 prisoners. The fight was by Polk's division chiefly, and our loss in killed, wounded and missing was 2,000. The enemy was driven back two miles.

No doubt that Bragg is retreating towards Cumberland Gap, pressed by overwhelming numbers. So much for Kentucky.

The following is but one of a thousand instances which the war furnishes of Vandalism on the part of the enemy. They remove Washington's statue from the State House of Louisiana to New York, and take a large part of the State Library. They liberate the convicts from the Penitentiary.

THE PLUNDERERS IN LOUISIANA.—The *Montpelier (Vt.) Journal* contains a letter from a Vermont soldier in Louisiana, describing the manner in which the plantation of General Richard Taylor, of the C. S. A., a son of old Zac, was "confiscated." After mentioning that the slaves, 150 in number, were carried off, the Yankee warrior adds:

"It is one of the most splendid plantations that I ever saw. There are on it 700 acres of sugar-cane, which must rot upon the ground if the Government does not harvest it. I wish you could have seen the soldiers plunder this plantation. After the stock was driven off, the boys began by ordering the slaves to bring out everything there was to eat and drink. They brought out hundreds of bottles of wines, eggs, preserved figs and peaches, turkeys, chickens, and honey in any quantity. I brought away a large camp-kettle and frying-pans that belonged to old General Taylor, and also many of his private papers. I have one letter of his own hand-writing, and many from Secretary Marcy—some from General Scott, and some from the traitor Floyd. I brought to camp four bottles of claret wine. Lieut. — brought away half a barrel of the best syrup from the sugar-house, and a large can of honey. The camp-kettle and pans I intend to send home. They are made of heavy tin, covered with copper. I think I will send home the private papers by mail, if I do not let any one have them. The camp is loaded down with plunder—all kinds of clothing, rings, watches, guns, pistols, swords, and some of General Taylor's old hats and coats, belt-swords—and, in

fact, every old relic he had is worn about the camp.

"You and every one may be thankful that you are out of the reach of plundering armies. Here are whole families of women and children running in the woods—large plantations entirely deserted—nothing left except slaves too old to run away—all kinds of the best mahogany furniture broken to pieces. Nothing is respected."

THURSDAY.—Our pickets have again driven the enemy into Nashville, and the condition of its citizens is represented as deplorable. Some prospects of its evacuation.

Yank-ees fail in an attempt upon the Charleston and Savannah railroad at Coosanbatchie and Pocotalico—are handsomely repulsed.

Under our Conscription Act, all able-bodied men under 40 are to be enrolled. Those between 40 and 45 are the reserve.

Gen. Winfield Scott, Commander-in-Chief of U. S. Army when the war broke out, wrote the following letter, which has just made its appearance in print:

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1861.—"It seems to me that I am guilty of no arrogance in limiting the President's field of selection to one of the four plans of procedure subjoined.

First, throw off the old and assume a new designation—the Union party—adopt the conciliatory measures proposed by Mr. Crittenden, or the Peace Conference, and my life upon it, we shall have no new cases of secession, but, on the contrary, an early return of many, if not all, of the States which have broken off from the Union. Without some equally benign measure, the remaining slaveholding States will probably join the Montgomery Confederacy in less than sixty days, when this city, being included in a foreign country, would require a permanent garrison of at least thirty-five thousand troops to protect the government within it.

Second, collect the duties on foreign goods outside the ports of which the government has the command, or close such ports by acts of Congress, and blockade them.

Third, conquer the seceded States by invading armies. No doubt this could be done in two or three years by a young and able general—a Wolfe, a Dessaix, or a Hoche—with 300,000 disciplined men, estimating a third for garrisons and a loss of a yet greater number by skirmishes, sieges, battles and Southern

fevers. The destruction of life and property on the other side would be frightful, however perfect the moral and discipline of the invaders. The conquest completed at that enormous waste of human life to the North and Northwest, with at least \$250,000,000 added thereto, and *cui bono?* Fifteen devastated provinces, not to be brought into harmony with their conquerors, to be held for generations by heavy garrisons, at an expense quadruple the net duties or taxes which it would be possible to extort from them, followed by a Protector or an Emperor.

Fourth, say to the seceded States, "wayward sisters, depart in peace." In haste, I remain very truly yours,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

To Hon. W. H. Seward.

FRIDAY.—Negro officers at Jamestown, Va., cause several prominent citizens to be shot.

An immense naval expedition the Yankee papers say will soon proceed against a Southern Fort—the most irresistible in modern history.

The enemy in South Carolina are again driven to their gun-boats.

THE BATTLE OF PERRYVILLE.—GENERAL BRAGG'S OFFICIAL REPORT.—The following is a copy of Major-General Bragg's official report of the battle of Perryville, Kentucky:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT NO. 2, }
BRYANTSVILLE, Ky., Oct. 12th.

Sir: Finding the enemy pressing heavily in his rear, near Perryville, Maj.-General Hardee, of Polk's command, was obliged to halt and check him at that point. Having arrived at Harrodsburg from Frankfort, I determined to give him battle there, and accordingly concentrated three divisions of my old command—the army of the Mississippi—now under Major-General Polk—Cheatham's, Buckner's and Anderson's—and directed General Polk to take the command on the 7th, and attack the enemy next morning. Withers' division had gone the day before to support Smith. Hearing, on the night of the 7th, that the force in front of Smith had rapidly retreated, I moved early next morning to be present at the operations of Polk's forces.

The two armies were formed confronting each other, on opposite sides of the town of Perryville. After consulting the General and reconnoitering the ground and examining his dispositions, I declined to assume the command, but suggested some changes and modifications of his arrangements, which he promptly adopted. The action opened at 12 1-2 P. M., between the skirmishers and artillery on both sides. Finding the enemy

indisposed to advance upon us, and knowing he was receiving heavy reinforcements, I deemed it best to assail him vigorously, and so directed.

The engagement became general soon thereafter, and was continued furiously from that time to dark, our troops never faltering and never failing in their efforts.

For the time engaged it was the severest and most desperately contested engagement within my knowledge. Fearfully outnumbered, our troops did not hesitate to engage at any odds, and though checked at times, they eventually carried every position, and drove the enemy about two miles. But for the intervention of night, we should have completed the work. We had captured fifteen pieces of artillery by the most daring charges, killed one and wounded two Brigadier Generals and a very large number of inferior officers and men, estimated at no less than 4,000, and captured 400 prisoners, including three staff officers, with servants, carriage and baggage of Major-General McCook.

The ground was literally covered with his dead and wounded. In such a contest our own loss was necessarily severe, probably not less than twenty-five hundred killed, wounded and missing. Included in the wounded are Brigadier-Generals Wood, Cleburn and Brown, gallant and noble soldiers, whose loss will be severely felt by their commands. To Major General Polk, commanding the forces, Major-General Hardee, commanding the left wing, two divisions, and Major-Generals Cheatham, Buckner and Anderson, commanding divisions, is mainly due the brilliant achievements of this memorable field. Nobler troops were never more gallantly led. The country owes them a debt of gratitude, which I am sure will be acknowledged.

Ascertaining that the enemy was heavily reinforced during the night, I withdrew my force early the next morning to Harrodsburg and thence to this point. Major-General Smith arrived at Harrodsburg with most of his forces and Withers' division the next day, 10th, and yesterday I withdrew the whole to this point, the enemy following slowly, but not pressing us. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed,) BRAXTON BRAGG,
Gen. Commanding.

To Adjutant-General, Richmond, Va.

SATURDAY.—Visit the plantation near Clinton, Miss., of my friend Mr. J—. Weather intensely cold and bleak. A retreat from Jackson to the repose of the country is delightful.

The defeat of the enemy on the Charleston and Savannah Railroad is reported as very complete.

English press loud in its denunciation of the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln, and regards the Yankee Government as having reached the lowest stage of degradation.

SUNDAY.—Weather colder, and thick ice. Am out of the reach of any news. In these times a day is an age.

MONDAY.—Bragg has gone to Richmond. Our Army of the West is in the vicinity of Knoxville. We gained little from Kentucky except in supplies; these represented very large. Jackson said to have made a second dash across the Potomac.

TUESDAY.—No telegraphs.

WEDNESDAY.—Emancipation Proclamation denounced at large and enthusiastic meetings in New York.

SAVANNAH, Oct. 23.—The Abolitionists attacked, in force, Pocotaligo and Coosawatchie yesterday. They were gallantly repulsed to their gunboats at Mackey's Point and Bee's Creek Landing by Colonel W. S. Walker, commanding the district, and Colonel G. P. Harrison, commanding the troops sent from here. The enemy had come in thirteen transports and gunboats.

The Charleston and Savannah Railroad is uninjured.

The Abolitionists left their dead and wounded on the field, and our cavalry is in hot pursuit. G. T. BRAUERGAARD.

The following verses are from an English journal, depicting the sufferings among the factory operatives in that country for the want of cotton:

Dead—dead—dead!

She was starved to death, I say,
Because of the fierce and cruel strife
Mid our kinsmen far away.
Man, look on her face, so worn and pale,
On her hands, so white and thin:
Here was a spirit that would not quail
From striving her bread to win;
But yonder, closed, is the factory-gate,
The engine is red with rust;
And what could we do but starve and wait
Till peace should bring us a crust?

Dead—dead—dead!

With her brother lying ill,
And her father shivering on the step
That leads to the silent mill.
Alone, I kneel in my blinding tears;
Alone, in my black despair;
My heart o'erburdened with gloomy fears,
Yet far too bitter for prayer!
Why do you prate how the world still grows
More kind and more wise each day?
War's bloody flame still glitters and glows;
The olives of peace decay!

THURSDAY.—News unimportant.

Converse with persons from New Orleans, who represent Butler's tyrannies as beyond comparison in modern times.

Major Williams, an aid of General Polk, who was in the battle of Perry-

ville, Kentucky, gives us an account of the fight. It was not a defeat, and scarcely a victory; our retreat was rendered necessary by the enemy's large re-enforcements, and was conducted in good order; we took cannon, but did not bring them off, and lost a large amount of arms. Did not bring any considerable amount of supplies from Kentucky, and made very little, it would seem, by this movement.

FRIDAY, Nov. 1.—Converse fully with Governor Pettus, Joe Davis (the brother of the President), and John Perkins, Member of Congress, on the progress and conduct of the war. Things are in a bad way, and the future is not very bright.

The old story of foreign intervention is started again, but hardly deceives anybody. If anything, however, will force the Powers to act, it will be the atrocities contemplated by the Emancipation Proclamation. Here is the dispatch:

RICHMOND, Oct. 30.—The *New York Express* says information has been received from semi-official sources in Europe that France and England are in accord as to America.

Lord Lyons was to have sailed in the *Australasian*, but was detained at the last moment by an order from Lord John Russell, to await further instructions, in consequence of Lincoln's Abolition Proclamation.

SATURDAY.—The story of foreign intervention again repeated, on the authority of the London *Army Gazette*; and it is said that France, England, and Russia are in accord. We have heard "Wolf" cried so often that, when he comes, no one will be prepared.

A dismal rumor comes up by passengers from Louisiana, this evening, that our forces on the Lafourche have been cut up entirely or captured. Bad news we generally find to be true. A repetition, probably, of the Corinth affair.

THE "NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND" COMING.—Under this heading, the *New York Express* of the 9th inst. has the annexed capital political squib:

"It is with feelings of the supremest satisfaction that we are enabled to announce that the Nine Hundred Thousand Men whom the *Tribune* promised would be forthcoming to swell the grand armies of the Union as soon as the President's Abolition Proclamation was issued, will arrive in this city (over the left) from Central New York, New England, etc., some time in the course of next week, in the following

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

Provost-marshal, with Aids, in Lincoln Green.
Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, escorted
by Chasseurs d'Afrique,

Provost-marshal.
 Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, with the
 Knights of Altoona.
 Band.
Contra-Bands.
 Managers of the Underground Railroad, two
 abreast.
 Provost-marshal.
 Joshua R. Giddings, Frederick Douglass
 (black man), and Abby Kelly Foster, repre-
 senting the Three Graces.
 Strong-minded Women.
 Rev. Henry Ward Swearer.
 Sergt. Fitzgerald, of the Corean Legion.
 Band—"List, oh List."
 More *Contra-Bands.*
 Supt. of the Negro Schools at Port Royal.
 Provost-marshal.
 Shoddy Contractors.
 The Libelers of Genl McClellan biting a File.
 Aunty Slavery, led by Uncle Tom.
 Fremont.
 More Shoddy Contractors.
 The Ghost of Magna Charta.
 Goddess of Liberty, with a broken Constitution.
 Knights of the Order of Port Lafayette.
 Provost-marshal.
 The mortal remains of the late
 Habeas Corpus, Esq.
 Pall-bearers.
 Mourners, etc., etc.
 Provost-marshal.
 Army Speculators.
 Field-marshal Horace Greeley and Staff, with
 Assistants bearing Pandora's Box.
 Tableau.—Representing Servile Insurrection—
 Young St. Domingo—Apotheosis of Tou-
 saint l'Ouverture, etc.
 Provost-marshal.
 The Genius of Disunion.
 Banner, with the inscription, "Let the Union
 Slide."
 Band.
 Air—"John Brown's Body Lies a-Mouldering
 in the Grave," etc.
 Provost-marshal.
 Rev. Dr. Cheever, with a Man and a Brother.
 Delegates from Exeter Hall.
 Postage-stamps.
 Wide Awakes.
Contra-Bands.
 Provost-marshal.
 More Wide Awakes.
 Nine Hundred and Ninety-nine Thousand
 Substitutes.

"The route of the Procession will be along
 the Underground Railroad, through the Realms
 of Imagination, until it reaches the Limbo of
 Vanity and Paradise of Fools, when the crowd
 will be dismissed until next Election Day."

SUNDAY.—No rumors or dispatches.

The Yankees will no doubt succeed
 in breaking up our salt works on the
 Teche, in Louisiana, which will be a
 serious blow.

Unless salt can be obtained, little
 ment will be saved in the Southwest.
 People are nearly mad on the subject.

A large trade has been tolerated be-
 tween here and New Orleans; but the
 Government has come down upon it,
 and seizes all the vessels and their car-
 goes on the Lake Shore. It was a source

of great corruption and abuse, or be-
 lieved to be so. The Yankees were be-
 ginning to get a good deal of cotton.
 They will give anything for it, even
 arms.

A NORTHERN OPINION OF SOUTHERN SOCIETY.

—Among the most striking episodes in the
 proceedings of the Unitarian Autumnal Con-
 vention which opened its session in New York
 last week, is the peculiar feeling excited by
 the remarks of Rev. Dr. Bellows, in eulogy of
 Southern social life and the influences proceed-
 ing from it. The opinion so frankly expressed
 by the reverend gentleman has elicited the
 most bitter comment among the members of
 the Convention.

No candid mind will deny the peculiar charm
 of Southern young men at college, or Southern
 young women in society. How far race and
 climate, independent of servile institutions,
 may have produced the Southern chivalric
 spirit and manner, I will not here consider.
 But one may as well deny the small feet and
 hands of that people as deny a certain inbred
 habit of command; a contempt of life in de-
 fence of honor or class; a talent for political
 life, and an easy control of inferiors. Nor is
 this merely an external and flashy heroism.
 It is real. It showed itself in Congress early
 and always, by the courage, eloquence, skill,
 and success with which it controlled majori-
 ties. It showed itself in the social life of
 Washington, by the grace, fascination and ease,
 the free and charming hospitality by which it
 governed society. It now shows itself in En-
 gland and France, by the success with which
 it manages the courts and the circles of litera-
 ture and fashions in both countries. It shows
 itself in this war in the orders and proclama-
 tions of its generals, in the messages of the
 rebel Congress, and in the essential good-breed-
 ing and humanity (contrary to a diligently en-
 couraged public impression) with which it not
 seldom divides its medical stores, and gives
 our sick and wounded as favorable care as it is
 able to extend to its own. It exceeds us at
 this moment in the possession of an ambulance
 corps.

I think the war must have increased the re-
 spect felt by the North for the South. Its mi-
 raculous resources; the bravery of its troops,
 their patience under hardships, their unshrink-
 ing firmness in the desperate position they
 have assumed; the wonderful success with
 which they have extemporized manufactures
 and munitions of war, and kept themselves in
 relation with the world in spite of our mag-
 nificent blockade; the elasticity with which
 they have risen from defeat; and the courage
 they have shown in threatening again and
 again our capital, and even our interior, can-
 not fail to extort an unwilling admiration and
 respect. Well is General McClellan reported
 to have said (privately), as he watched their
 obstinate fighting at Antietam, and saw them
 retiring in perfect order in the midst of the
 most frightful carnage, "What terrible neigh-
 bors these would be! We must conquer them,
 or they will conquer us!"

MONDAY.—A large number of the
 river planters are removing their ne-
 groes to Texas, and many from the in-
 terior of Mississippi are doing the same.
 They thus protect them from the Yan-

kees. Land can be bought cheap in Texas, and the emigration thither will be immense. Government is purchasing the cotton crop very generally, which enables the planters to be put in control of funds for purposes of removal. It is a good move. As the cotton is bought low, no doubt enough will be saved from the enemy and the torch to realize a round profit; and if it can be made the basis of credit in Europe, it will be a grand move. If, however, the war lasts very long, the scheme may not be advantageous. The cotton ought to have been taken a year ago, when it could have been had for eight cents.

No news from any quarter to-day. Hopes expressed that reports from Louisiana are unfounded.

WEDNESDAY.—A calamitous day at Jackson.

In the afternoon the Arsenal blew up, destroying some 30 or 40 lives. It was a shocking sight to see the arms, legs, heads, and mutilated bodies of men, women, and children scattered in every direction. Some were thrown great distances, and lodged in the trees around.

At night a fire raged, which destroyed many valuable storehouses and the splendid depot and warehouses of the Vicksburg Railroad. An immense and irreparable loss in these disastrous times.

MR. GLADSTONE ON THE CONFEDERACY.—The following is that portion of Mr. Gladstone's speech on American Affairs, recently delivered at Newcastle, which has created so much sensation in England:

"We may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army. They are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either—they have made a nation. [Loud cheers.] I cannot say that I have viewed with any regret their failure to establish themselves in Maryland. It appears to me too probable that, if they had been able to establish themselves there, the consequence of their military success in that aggressive movement would have obtained power in that State; that they would have contracted actual or virtual engagements with that political party, and that the existence of those engagements, hampering them in their future negotiations with the Northern States, might have created a new obstacle to peace. [Hear.] Now, from the bottom of our hearts, we should desire that no new obstacle to peace should start up. We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States, so far as regards their separation from the North. [Hear, hear.] I cannot but believe that that

event is as certain as any event yet future and contingent can be. [Hear, hear.] But it is from a decided feeling that that great event is likely to happen, and that the North will have to suffer that mortification, that I earnestly hope that Englishmen will do nothing to inflict additional shame, sorrow, or pain upon those who have already suffered much, and who will probably have to suffer more. [Hear.] It may be that a time might arrive when it would be the duty of Europe to offer the word of expostulation or friendly aid toward composing the quarrel. If it be even possible that such a time should arrive, how important that when that word is spoken it should address itself to minds not embittered by the recollections that unkind things have been said and done toward them in Europe, and above all, in England, the country which, however they may find fault with it from time to time, has, we know, the highest place in their admiration and esteem." [Cheers.]

THURSDAY.—Melancholy funerals of the victims of yesterday's tragedy. Many of the bodies could not be identified for their mutilation. It is too horrible to think of.

The loss of ammunition was quite small, which is exceedingly fortunate.

Many thousand pounds were stored in the vicinity, and were for a time in great danger. No clue to the cause of the disaster.

No telegraphic dispatches for several days. Reported that the Yankees are advancing in North Mississippi and that our army is falling back, pressed by overwhelming numbers. The State is really in great danger.

The disaster to our arms spoken of a few days ago, in Louisiana, proves too true. The enemy largely outnumbered us, and after hard fighting and much loss on both sides, took several hundred of our troops prisoners. Nothing but rumors on one side, and the report of the Yankee "Delta" on the other.

FRIDAY.—The enemy are concentrating large forces with the view of demonstrating upon Holly Springs and Jackson by the Central Road. This would be a very hazardous movement, notwithstanding his great superiority of numbers. No later news, however, from that quarter. It is said that we are crossing over troops from Arkansas.

THE NEGRO AS A FREEMAN.—The condition of the "contrabands" wherever they have collected during the war appears to be the same—and sad enough it is. A correspondent of the Indianapolis *State Journal*, writing from Cairo, gives this account of the negroes (or menagerie, as he says) there collected:

Wishing to get into the notions of the darkies, I passed among them as an Illinois farmer, my army hat answering a capital purpose in the game. I proposed to hire a man. "Dun no, sah. Where you want me to go? What you gim, 'ee?" Going up to the dirtiest woman I saw, I proposed to her. "Can't go, sah! I's got four babies!" "Well, I'll take your babies." "But I's got a husband." "Well, I'll take your husband, too." "But dar's old granny; I can't leave her." "Why, can't you go, too, granny?" "O, master, I's in hopes some days it will please de good Lord to give me back to old master." I tried a dozen or more, and found underlying the hopes of most of them was an ultimate return to their native land. The one refrain was:

"O, carry me back!"

Their local attachment is unconquerable, and they seem utterly unreconciled to separating the families. An over-sanguine friend of mine, a physician, spoke to me the other day to procure a suitable boy for him, who, after serving a reasonable time as a hostler, could be put to the science of physicking. I concluded to get the boy here; but you ought to have seen the whites of their eyes and their ivory when I suggested studying to be a doctor. The bursting of a bombshell would hardly have produced greater consternation. The facts here and the facts everywhere bid us look the subject fairly in the face. Until the time comes when these can return to their homes in peace and freedom, they must be managed here, and to do this some system of apprenticeship must be adopted. These creatures have neither the intelligence nor the integrity necessary to contracting wisely for their own labor. One man asked \$15 per month the year round, another \$20, and another \$5.

And yet philanthropists—so called—desire to turn free, and thus to deprive them of their natural protection and shelter, four millions of just such beings—bringing desolation upon both whites and blacks.

SATURDAY, 8TH NOV.—Weather very cold. Our troops will suffer severely everywhere this winter. Nearly impossible to furnish them woolens and blankets. Several hundred at Jackson are camping out, and most of them are without blankets or overcoats. Men who are cheerful, and hopeful, and brave amid such trials and sufferings, can never be enslaved.

If the war lasts much longer our sufferings will be great. Nobody, however, complains, but all are for fighting to the bitter end; though not so hope-

ful as in the past. The combinations against us are so powerful! Without the expectation of European aid it would have been difficult to bring about the revolution, and that has failed signally.

Commodities grow scarcer and scarcer. Shoes here sell at 25 to 30 dollars the pair, and boots 40 to 50 dollars; hats 15 to 20, and other things in proportion. Coffee now commands \$4 per pound, and tea \$25. Salt \$75 to \$100 per sack. Whiskey \$15 per gallon. Brandy \$30 to \$50, &c., &c.

The news from the North to-day is that the Democratic party have carried New York, New Jersey and Illinois, and thus have the control in the United States. Many see in this an augury of peace, or at least find something for congratulation—but northern democrats have equaled republicans in their hostility and deception.

Snows in Virginia which may interrupt the campaign there.

The Yankees whilst Rome is on fire are fiddling and dancing right merrily.

THE GAIETY OF WASHINGTON CITY.—The Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Times* thus speaks of the gaiety of that city:

Washington is just now lively beyond all precedent. Three theatres, two circuses, and two hybrid places of amusements known respectively as Canterbury and Olympic Hall, besides a dozen smaller places of enjoyment, are in full blast, and are nightly jammed to repletion. Hacks by the hundred, filled with pleasure-seeking parties, are incessantly dashing hither and thither; gaily dressed equestrians canter about the avenues, and dense crowds of happy, richly-dressed pedestrians throng the sidewalks at all hours. The skeleton in our national closet isn't suspected of existence in this section; the gigantic war affects people as little as if it were being waged between the Hottentots and Senegambians.

The irrepressible Barnum is also here lecturing on Sundays, in the Capital grounds, upon temperance, and on other days exchanging views of Commodore Nutt, Tom Thumb, grizzly bears, etc., for the quarters and halves of the citizens, in which transaction he, as usual, gets much the best of the bargain. Just now there is a more interesting newspaper war raging between him and Nixon, the proprietor of a rival circus, in which Barnum is, as usual, ahead, and has shown that, in the use of abuse, he is by far the biggest blackguard of the two.

Maggie Mitchell, at Ford's theatre, on

Tenth Street, has drawn crowded houses for six consecutive weeks, and in addition, has turned the heads of half the spoony shoulder-straps in Washington. Nightly the stage is flooded with bouquets, and frequently with more substantial evidences of admiration, until the green-houses of Washington and the pockets of her admirers are about equally empty. And thus we go, a gay and festive community.

SUNDAY.—A day without rumors.

Some females have lately come out from New Orleans under circumstances that lead to the suspicion that they are spies, and they will not be allowed to return. The authorities should be on the alert. Our most important movements are generally known to the enemy in advance, and the intelligence is carried frequently by women, who are allowed to pass and repass. Recently, a notorious profligate came out from Memphis to Holly Springs, and, after having dalliance for a while with our officers, returned and carried with her the most minute information desired by the enemy.

The ladies of South Carolina participate in the glorious purpose of the State—to suffer extermination rather than conquest—as the following, which tells but the truth, will show. If we fail in the number of our men, let us enlist and drill our women, who would a thousand times rather brave the field than submit. They have faith, courage, and endurance, and could soon be learned the use of arms. Every Southern girl and mother should be taught to handle the pistol and the rifle—thousands have already been taught—and few would shrink in the hour of trial. We have half a million of females between the ages of eighteen and thirty who would not back down.

PATRIOTIC WOMEN TO THE RESCUE.—A few days since, says the *Savannah News*, we published the appeal of the venerable Christopher Gadsden to the people of Charleston, calling upon all, old and young, to organize for the defence of the city. In the *Mercury* we find the following response from the ladies of Columbia:

"The voice from the grave touches the chords of our heart-strings. In the daughters of Carolina there are kindred spirits to the 'Maid of Saragossa.'"

"If the time for us to act has come, we are ready. We ask for the best method of action—whether to be formed into companies and regiments, or to wait and fill the places of our beloved soldiers who fall? Save our country, our Southern sunny homes, from Yankee thralldom, men and fathers. Your daughters hush

their timid fearings, and would die for their country's freedom."

MONDAY.—Our army has fallen back beyond the Tallahatchie, which leaves the northern counties of Mississippi to the enemy.

The Yankees have made a demonstration into Virginia, which presages an early fight, and we may expect stirring news in a few days. Our army is said to be in condition, and well prepared.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, Sept. 22, 1862.

GENTLEMEN.—You will receive by the mail which will carry you this dispatch, evidence which will convince you that the aggressive movement of the rebels against the States remaining faithful to the Union is arrested, and that the forces of the Union, strengthened and reanimated, are again ready to undertake a campaign on a vast scale.

If you consult the newspapers, you will easily perceive that the financial resources of the insurrection decline rapidly, and that the means of raising troops have been exhausted. On the other side, you will see that the financial situation of the country is good, and that the call for fresh troops, without which the material force of the nation would be seriously crippled, is being promptly responded to.

I have already informed our representatives abroad of the approach of a change in the social organization of the rebel States. This change continues to make itself each day more and more apparent.

In the opinion of the President, the moment has come to place the great fact more clearly before the people of the rebel States, and to make them understand that if these States persist in imposing upon the country the choice between the dissolution of this Government, at once necessary and beneficial, and the abolition of slavery, it is the Union and not slavery that must be maintained and saved. With this object the President is about to publish a proclamation, in which he announces that slavery will no longer be recognized in any of the States which shall be in rebellion on the first of January next. While all the good and wise men of all countries will recognize this measure as a just and proper military act, intended to release the country from a terrible civil war, they will recognize at the same time the moderation and magnanimity with which the Government proceeds in a matter so solemn and important.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

WM. H. SEWARD.

TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY.—Enemy driven back in their advance upon Gordonsville, Va. They are advancing, it is said, upon Mississippi from Corinth, Grand Junction, and Memphis.

STONEWALL JACKSON—WHAT THE ABOLITION PAPERS SAY OF HIM.—A Harper's Ferry correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, who was present when Stonewall Jackson captured it, says:

"While the officers were dashing down the road, and the half-naked privates begging at every door, General Jackson was sunning him-

self, and talking with a group of soldiers at the pump across the street—a plain man, in plain clothes, with an iron face and iron-gray hair. Only by his bearing could he be distinguished from his men. He stood as if the commonest of all, marked only by the mysterious insignia of individual presence by which we know, intuitively, the genius from the clown. No golden token of rank gleamed on his rusty clothes; of the shining symbols of which, alas, too many of our officers are so ridiculously fond that they seem unconscious how disgraceful is this glitter of vanity! They were nowhere visible on old Stonewall's person. When General Jackson had drunk at the pump, and talked at his leisure, he mounted his flame-colored horse and rode down the street at the jog of a comfortable farmer carrying a bag of meal.

"As he passed, I could but wonder how many times he had prayed on Saturday night before commencing his hellish Sabbath work. His old servant says that 'When massa prays four times in de night, he knows the devil 'll be to pay de next day.' And I am very sure that there were a large number of devils at work above Harper's Ferry on Sunday, September 14, 1862. M. C. A."

THURSDAY.—Yellow fever said to be raging on the coast of South Carolina among the Yankees; their General Mitchell is dead of it.

They are thought to be advancing upon Weldon; and it is also believed that McClellan's army is being withdrawn from the Potomac to operate upon Richmond from the south.

Other rumors are, that there has been a fight near the Potomac, and the old story, that France has intervened, comes, it is said, in a dispatch. Nobody believes anything on that subject, even if one from the dead should speak.

A member of General Bragg's staff gives the following as the advantages gained in the advance upon Kentucky:

But was nothing gained!

1st. Buell, who had been threatening Chattanooga, and even Atlanta, was forced to evacuate East Tennessee in "double-quick."

2d. North Alabama was thereby relieved from Federal occupation.

3d. We got possession of Cumberland Gap, the doorway through that mountain to Knoxville and the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad.

4th. We took from 18,000 to 20,000 prisoners at Richmond, Mumfordsville, and other places.

5th. We brought off a far greater amount of arms and ammunition than we carried into Kentucky.

6. Jeans enough to clothe the Army of the Mississippi were brought off, besides what General Smith obtained. I know not what this amounts to, but I understand it is, as it ought to be, from his longer stay in the State, much larger.

7th. We beat the enemy in three considerable battles, at Richmond, Mumfordsville, and Perryville, and our cavalry whipped them in twenty smaller ones.

8th. And last, we have paid a debt of honor due by the Confederate States to Kentucky. We have offered her an army to help her lib-

eration, and her exclusion would be no longer an obstacle in honor or on principle to a treaty of peace with the United States.

The only real mistakes of the campaign are, in my judgment, first, that from the first advance of General Smith, in July, the rich supplies of Kentucky were not gathered and sent back to the South; and, second, that prominent Unionist hostages were not brought away to guarantee the good treatment of our friends in the State.

FRIDAY, Nov. 14.—McClellan has been removed from the command of the Federal army. It leads to much excitement, and the Democrats are boisterous. He did not suit the Abolition dynasty, and Burnside takes command. The cry again is, "On to Richmond!"

SATURDAY.—McClellan, it seems, was not willing to advance as fast as his masters required, and persistently refused to make the cause of the Union second to that of negro emancipation. We are not inclined to credit the latter report. Though the ablest of the Yankee generals, he has proved himself a tool and braggart. The South gains by his removal.

General Joseph Johnson is to have command in the West. It is hailed as a favorable augury. Bragg is under a cloud, and Pemberton is, to say the least, untried. Van Dorn and Lovell are below par. Time only can vindicate them. They are doubtless brave men, but unfortunate commanders.

The Cincinnati *Inquirer* has the following:

We have no doubt that the following, from the Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald*, is substantially true. He says:

"As soon as the result of the election was definitely known, a meeting of the Cabinet was held, at which it is understood, President Lincoln announced to the assembled members that, in his opinion, the result was a verdict against the radical policy, and especially against the Emancipation Proclamation, and that Mr. Seward, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Smith echoed his words and his arguments. It is said that, after the conservatives in the Cabinet had expressed their views, Mr. Chase calmly and deliberately told Mr. Lincoln that there were two courses open for him. If he withdrew the proclamation, and discarded the policy he had been pursuing since it was issued, the war would be promptly stopped, assuring him at the same time that, upon the opening of Congress, Mr. Sumner and Mr. Wade, in the Senate, and Mr. Stevens and Mr. Lovejoy, in the House, were ready to make a proposition for peace with the Southern Confederacy; that not another life should be lost, nor another dollar spent if this war was to be a war for the restoration of slavery; that as these gentlemen controlled a majority in the Congress which is to govern the country, so far as the appropriations go, for another year, they were in a po-

sition to dictate the course of the Administration. Not only must he adhere to the proclamation as issued, and to all its radical features, but he must, moreover, give it to the benefit of generals in the field who believe in it.

"The story goes on to relate that letters were received from Senators Sumner, Wade, Wilson, Fessenden, and the other radical leaders in the Senate, and from Stevens, Lovejoy, Roscoe Conkling, and other radicals in the House, stating that, if the Emancipation Proclamation should be withdrawn, the war must be stopped and would be stopped.

"That the President has yielded to some such pressure as this we do not doubt; nor the rumor that he will, after the opening of Congress, modify his Cabinet by making it an Abolition unit, and supersede the generals in the field with Abolition chieftains."

SUNDAY.—Lord Lyons, the British Minister, announces in conversation, that his government does not contemplate any interference with the American quarrel, but Northern accounts represent their relations with France and Spain to be unfavorable.

The South, however, is satisfied in that respect. She expects nothing from the selfish and narrow sighted policy of the courts, and experience has proved that the Yankees will make any humiliating concessions to avert a conflict with them. If a reunion with the North ever takes place, the South would be heartily prepared to join in a war that might be undertaken against these powers. They are afraid of the Yankees now, and will have good reason to be afraid of them then.

The enemy in North Mississippi are still advancing. They outnumber us very heavily, and the prospect is one of gloom. Mississippi, unless Herculean efforts are made, will be overrun, and that speedily. The greatest excitement prevails, and people are removing to Texas, Louisiana, and Alabama, with their stock and negroes.

Corn is worth but 75 cts. a bushel in Mississippi, but flour \$50 per barrel. In Carolina corn is worth \$1.50 to \$2.00. Salt, \$1.00 per bushel; bacon, 75c. to \$1.00 per pound. Coarse country wools bring \$6 to \$8 per yard, and wool \$4.00 per pound. Negro shoes, \$8.00; ladies' shoes, \$12.00 to \$15.00, etc.

NASHVILLE.—One of the editors of the *Chattanooga Rebel* has received a letter from a young lady of Nashville, from which the following paragraphs are extracted:

"Nashville is not what it was, believe me. You may walk a whole morning and never meet a familiar face. The ladies never go in the streets except

accompanied by some escort or in carriages. How many of them are in black! How many houses are in mourning! You do not know, you cannot know the mental suffering we experience every day. The old haunts, which used to be so lively, are now deserted and dark; no lights at night, nor music, nor notes of laughter! Why, I haven't smiled in a month. Whenever the strings of my heart vibrate, the face is not wreathed with dimples—the eyes are full of tears."

"Many of our young ladies have gone, like the last rose of summer. But still many yet are here. They, without an exception, detest everything that ever looked like a Yankee. Some reports got out, I hear, about one or two having received the Federal officers. It is positively not so, except those of Union families, who are now few and far between. These latter we systematically cut. One of them was lately married to a Tennessee Federal office-holder, which greatly shocked her friends of 'Lang Syne.' But we consider her dead; have buried her, mourned over her, and are fast forgetting her. The Yankee officers have at last discovered that there's no use 'knocking at the door,' and have collapsed into a magnificent indifference, which is as amusing as acceptable." * *

MONDAY, 17TH.—Leave for South Carolina on a visit to my family, and afterwards to Richmond.

THE GEORGIA LEGISLATURE.—The Legislature of Georgia on the 6th inst. passed the following preamble and resolutions unanimously in both Houses:

Whereas, It is evident that the theatre of war must soon be transferred from the battle-fields of Virginia to the seaport towns of the cotton States; and whereas, emulating the devoted heroism of the people of Vicksburg, we desire for Georgia that her seaport city should be defended to the last extremity, at whatever cost of life or property:

Resolved, That in the opinion of the General Assembly of Georgia, the city of Savannah should never be surrendered, that it should be defended street by street, and house by house, until, if taken, the victor's spoils alone should be a heap of ashes.

Resolved, If the House concur, that the Joint Committee on Finance be instructed to report forthwith a bill appropriating such sum as may be necessary for the removal of the helpless women and children in Savannah to a place of safety.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the Governor to the General commanding, with the assurance that the people of Georgia will accept any calamity rather than suffer

her soil to be polluted by the hand of Abolition invaders.

ATROCITIES OF THE ENEMY.—"The troops under General Hamilton committed the most inexcusable devastations on their march from Corinth to Grand Junction, and it will take a long list of valorous deeds to atone for the acts of these three days. Fences were fired maliciously, and the whole line of march lighted by conflagrations. Houses were entered and pillaged by bands of stragglers, and almost every conceivable indignity heaped on the families without regard to age or sex. A large church, well finished inside, was set fire to and consumed. Houses and barns shared the same fate. Property of no earthly use to a soldier was often taken, and sometimes, if not taken, destroyed through pure vindictiveness. In one case a squad of soldiers entered a house where the matron was *encointe*, and were guilty, in addition to other things, of breaking open her drawers and trunks, and carrying away and destroying the clothes prepared for her unborn child. My heart sickens at such recitals, and I had well-nigh determined at one time to pass them by in silence; but the people at home should know that such acts are perpetrated."

TUESDAY.—Rosencrans is at Nashville with five divisions of Yankee troops. He declares his determination to subdue the Southern people as he proceeds south. The alternative will be offered, he says, of allegiance to the Union, or they will be forced within the rebel lines. He will apply the same law to women and children. His idea is to throw an immense population on the South, in order to consume what he considers our limited supplies, and thus starve us into subjection.

Randolph, for alleged disagreement with the President, has resigned his post of Secretary of War, and General G. W. Smith holds the office *ad interim*.

New York is being fortified, in apprehension of an attack from Confederate war steamers said to be expected from Europe. It is an old story and few have much faith in it—though it is difficult to understand why such vessels have not been long since provided. The rumor is plausibly supported, and may have some foundation in fact—at least everybody is hopeful.

Enemy have appeared opposite Fredericksburg, Virginia, but have been held in check thus far.

Col. Adam Johnson's cavalry made a

dash into Madisonville, Ky., last week, killing 40 and wounding 112 Abolitionists. The Abolitionists fled to the Ohio River, but were pressed hard. We succeeded in capturing three steamboats, and brought back 40 wagon-loads of army supplies.

WEDNESDAY.—People of Mobile hopeful, and defences actively urged. Two new gunboats building at Selma are expected down, and an early attack upon the city is feared. Converses with General McCowan, who is to have command of the post.

A correspondent of the *New York Times* says the French Government has demanded full and immediate indemnity for all injuries inflicted upon French citizens by General Butler, and that the State Department is ready to back down to any extent from Butler's acts; that the Spanish Minister has demanded an apology for the burning of vessels in Spanish waters by one of the ships of Farragut's fleet.

THURSDAY.—Fredericksburg is being evacuated, and a battle is expected before many days.

New York Tribune repeats the story that three immense iron-clad rams, the most powerful in the world, are being constructed for the Confederates in Great Britain.

FRIDAY, 21ST NOV.—John A. Seddon has been appointed Secretary of War. He is an able statesman, but of too feeble health for that position.

Burnside's army reported demoralized by McClellan's removal, and whole regiments have thrown down their arms. General Halleck pacified the malcontents.

The Yankees abandon the Piedmont region of Virginia, and intend an advance upon Richmond by the Rappahannock and Fredericksburg.

Several regiments of troops are on their way from Georgia to Mississippi. Cars are crowded everywhere. Never in peace times was the travel greater. It is impossible to believe otherwise than that thousands manage to evade the Conscription Act by continued passage from place to place. The authorities are much in fault. Thousands are greedy speculators, and fatten on the public misfortunes.

SATURDAY TO MONDAY.—Engaged without a moment's relaxation preparing report of cotton operations to be taken to Richmond. It is practicable

to extend these operations very much in Mississippi, and perhaps generally by a more liberal policy upon the part of Government. A million of bales should be purchased and pledged in Europe for arms, ships and supplies. It can be done. If much of this cotton is burnt or stolen by the Yankees, what is left will amply reimburse.

News unimportant.

TUESDAY, 25TH NOV.—Leave for South Carolina. Persons from Fredericksburg to-day say that all is quiet, and no demonstration on either side. It is the impression that the enemy has moved the bulk of his forces towards Acquia Creek, though his pickets extend to the Rappahannock River. Some refugees have returned. Passengers by the evening train report all quiet at Fredericksburg. Not a gun was fired. The enemy is perceptibly falling back. Their camp-fires extend in the direction of Acquia Creek, and it is believed the enemy is moving in that direction.

WEDNESDAY.—Yankees advancing upon Staunton, Virginia, by the way of the Alleghany Mountains, and massing their forces in Suffolk, with the view of an attack upon Petersburg or Weldon, in order to isolate Richmond from the South.

THURSDAY.—The Lincoln Government has again backed down. The *Diario de la Marina* says that as soon as the representative of Her Majesty at Washington, Señor Tassara, received the details of the case, he hastened and read to Mr. Seward the dispatch of the Captain General of Cuba, in which the facts of the case are stated and the necessary reclamation made. Mr. Seward assured the Spanish representative in the most categorical manner, that the United States Government felt highly disappointed with the conduct of the naval officers who violated our laws and territory, and was willing to give complete satisfaction to the government of Spain.

The *London Star*, in an editorial on the escape of the Alabama, says: "It is known that as many as nine other ships are being built or equipped in British harbors for the service of the Confederate States. If they were to serve simply and strictly as vessels of war; if they were to be employed in an attempt to break the blockade; to recover New Orleans; to fight the Federals in Southern rivers, or other legitimate acts of warfare, they would be subject to arrest and detention."

FRIDAY.—"A letter in the *Mobile Ad-*

vertiser and Register, dated Headquarters Cavalry Division, ten miles south of Holly Springs, Miss., Nov. 23d, says that there is no doubt that the enemy intend advancing in this direction soon. Fifty to sixty thousand Abolitionists are in front, at Grand Junction, Davis' Mills, and La Grange, and reinforcements are joining them daily from Memphis and Jackson, Tenn. The enemy are rapidly preparing the Memphis and Charleston railroad to Grand Junction, as also the Mississippi Central railroad towards Holly Springs. All the stations and bridges on these roads are heavily guarded. Their armed foraging parties are composed of the vilest robbers and murderers on the face of the earth, and ravage the country around for miles on every side. From Davis' Mills to Moscow seems to be their base of operations."

SATURDAY, November 29.—Reached Wicksboro, S. C., after a passage of five days from Jackson, Miss. Trip without incident, which is remarkable.

President Davis has demanded that Gen. McNeil, who hung ten of our guerrillas in Missouri, should be given up, and in failure has ordered Gen'l Holmes to execute the first ten Yankee officers that he may capture. This is demanded by public opinion, and sad as may be the necessity, will be justified by the whole civilized world. In no other way can such enormities be checked. The result is awaited with anxiety.

SUNDAY.—Yankee transports and gun-boats are at Port Royal on the Rappahannock. This evinces a purpose to cross the river. They have advanced in force from Nashville towards Franklin.

The "wolf" cry of "mediation" and "recognition" seems, after all, to have something in it, however contemptibly insignificant as the following will show. The smallest favors of that sort must, we suppose, in our condition be thankfully received. More may happen by and by, and perhaps in good enough season.

The *Examiner* has received the New York *Herald* of the 27th: Mr. Drouyn De L'Hays, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed a dispatch to the Ambassadors of France at London and St. Petersburg, dated Paris, Oct. 30th. He refers to the painful interest with which Europe has watched the struggle raging in America. "Europe," he says, "has suffered from the consequences of the crisis which has dried up one of the most

fruitful sources of public wealth. The neutrality maintained by France and the other powers ought to make them of service to the two parties by helping them out of a position which seems to have no issue. At last accounts the two armies were in a condition that would not allow either party any decided advantage to accelerate the conclusion of peace. All these circumstances point to the opportunity of an armistice. The Emperor has, therefore, thought that the occasion has presented itself of offering to the belligerents the good offices of the maritime powers. He therefore proposes that England, Russia and France should propose an armistice for six months, during which every act of hostility, direct or indirect, should cease at sea, as well as on land. This armistice might, if necessary, be renewed for a further period. This proposal would not imply any pressure of negotiations for peace, which it is hoped would take place during the armistice."

Earl Russell, in his reply, says: "Her Majesty's Government recognizes, with pleasure, the design of arresting the progress of the war by friendly measures, but asks, is the end proposed attainable at the present moment by the course suggested by the Government of France? After weighing all the information which has been received from America, Her Majesty's Government are led to the conclusion that there is no ground at the present moment to hope that the Federal Government would accept the proposal suggested, and a refusal from Washington at the present time would prevent any speedy renewal of the offer. Her Majesty's Government thinks, therefore, that it would be better to await the time when the three Courts may offer their friendly counsel with a greater prospect than now exists of its being accepted by the two contending parties."

MONDAY, December 1, 1862.—The *Herald* says the Union army of Virginia is stronger and better prepared now for the work of a triumphant campaign than ever heretofore, or likely to be hereafter. The *Herald's* plan for the capture of Richmond is as follows: let Washington be rendered perfectly safe, without requiring Burnside to keep a sharp eye in that direction, while advancing upon Richmond; let him be assisted with the co-operation of the land and naval force by the James and York rivers, and his advance upon the rebel capital will be the death-blow to the rebellion, as the army of Lee, if not captured or destroyed at Richmond, will be enveloped, as the forces are sufficient to capture or scatter it to the winds.

A dispatch from Cairo, dated the 21st, says passengers from Lagrange report

the main body of the Federals still there. None but the cavalry have been to Holly Springs. The railroad bridge, three miles south of Lagrange, which was burned by the rebels, is being rebuilt.

TUESDAY.—Weather very cold. Snow and rain would break up the military operations in Virginia and Northern Mississippi. It is hard to say whether or not we should desire such results in Virginia. Perhaps we shall never be better prepared than now in that quarter, and the Yankees will gain in point of both discipline and numbers. A great victory on our side would beget results very different from former ones, taking into consideration the division of parties at the North, and the bitterness of feeling which has been engendered. But as for peace, nothing seems to promise that for many a long day to come.

WEDNESDAY, RICHMOND, December 2.—A special New Orleans correspondent of the New York *Times* censures Reverdy Johnson for advising the Government to pay back to the French Consul the specie seized by Butler. He says the money, four hundred and five thousand dollars, released on Johnson's recommendation, was actually sent to Havana within the last forty days by a Spanish war steamer. It was borrowed from the Bank of New Orleans by J. D. B. De Bow, agent of the Richmond Government, to pay for clothing in Havana waiting to run the blockade. The Bank of New Orleans was seized and closed by Butler for sending specie to the rebels.

THURSDAY.—The Federal Excise Tax, it is said, will produce \$350,000,000, instead of \$150,000,000, as was intended. This will exceed the entire income of the British Government. Thus far the South has paid little or nothing in taxes. This cannot and should not last. Our war tax did not realize more than \$15,000,000. We have, however, contributed voluntarily in support of the war as a people eight or ten times that amount, which is not the case at the North.

The New York *World* says that Lincoln will yield to the conservative pressure, and modify or withhold his emancipation proclamation. They will find some way to get out of the scrape.

A member of Congress intimated to us last night, in confidence, that our cause was lost, and said that the opinion was gaining ground at Richmond. Democratic successes talk of reconstruc-

tion, and the perils and sufferings of the war are overcoming many who were the staunchest and boldest in our ranks.

The prospect is dark enough to the stoutest, bravest and most hopeful among us. When will morning come? God only can determine the end, and we are in his hands.

LATEST FROM VICKSBURG.—We learn from a friend just from Vicksburg that the most formidable preparations have been made for giving the enemy a warm reception in case of another attack. The woods, which in a measure last winter served to conceal the movements of the Yankee gun-boats, have been entirely cleared away, so that no vessel can take shelter within range of the city. Our batteries command the grand Yankee aqueduct made by the enemy last winter. Breastworks have been thrown up in the streets of the city. The people are very sanguine of their ability to hold the city. No apprehension is felt of an immediate attack, there being no perceptible rise in the river.

FRIDAY.—The season of foul weather has apparently set in. Rain all last night and to-day. Imagine the sufferings of our half-clothed soldiers in Virginia particularly, and contrast it with that of the Yankee invaders, who are supplied sumptuously in all things. It may be doubted if our revolutionary fathers suffered more. Every effort is being made to supply the army, and scarcely a family that is not contributing woolens and blankets, and if the war continues, every household will soon be stripped. Shoes are most difficult to supply. They are worth from \$15 to \$30, and boots as high as \$40 and \$50. Soldiers tell us they have stood guard bare-footed in the snow, and we have seen them sleeping out on icy-cold nights, without tent, blanket or overcoat, and by a scanty fire.

Such are the sufferings of a patriot soldiery. "Did the world ever witness such heroism?" Nothing additional from Fredericksburg, but gage of battle hourly expected. We are moving the army stores from Middle Tennessee to Chattanooga. Pierre Soule, of New Orleans, and other political prisoners at Fort Lafayette, are liberated.

JOINT RESOLUTIONS IN RELATION TO THE WAR DEBT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.—Whereas, the Government of the Confederate States is involved in a war for

the independence of each of the States of the Confederacy, as well as for its own existence; and whereas the destiny of each State of the Confederacy is indissolubly connected with that of the Confederate Government; and whereas the Confederate Government cannot successfully prosecute the war to a speedy and honorable peace, without ample means of credit; Be it therefore

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened, That in the opinion of this General Assembly, it is the duty of each State of the Confederacy, for the purpose of sustaining the credit of the Confederate Government, to guarantee the debt of that Government in proportion to its representation in the Congress of that Government.

Resolved further, That the State of Alabama hereby proposes to our sister States of the Confederacy, to guarantee said debt on said basis, provided that each of said States shall accept the proposition, and adopt suitable legislation to carry it into effect, in which event these resolutions shall stand as the guarantee of this State for the aforesaid proposition of the debt of said Confederate Government.

Resolved further, That his Excellency the Governor be, and is hereby, requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the Governor of each State of the Confederacy and to the President of the Confederate States.

SATURDAY.—Banks' fleet has sailed from New York, perhaps for Texas. Burnside is delayed in crossing the Rappahannock, forwarding Pontoon Bridges. Thayer is preparing to colonize Florida with Yankees. Army said by Lincoln not to be stronger than when the last levy of 300,000 was made. Our army reported as retreating upon Richmond.

Federal Congress has met. Lincoln's message the most trashy and contemptible that ever emanated from public officer.

He proposes:

"Article 1.—Every State wherein slavery exists which shall abolish the same before the first of January, 1900, shall be compensated by the United States, with bond bearing interest at the rate of — per cent, per annum, to the amount of — for each slave shown to have been therein by the eighth census of the United States. Any State having received the bonds as aforesaid, and shall afterwards reintroduce and tolerate slavery, shall refund the bonds. Article 2.—All slaves who, by the chances of war, have enjoyed freedom during the rebellion shall be forever free, but the loyal owners shall be compensated at the rates provided for the States. Article 3.—Congress

may appropriate money and otherwise provide for the colonization of free persons of color, with their own consent, at a place without the United States."

SUNDAY.—Gunboat affair in the vicinity of Port Royal, Va., in which they are repulsed by land batteries. Weather intensely cold.

RICHMOND, December 6.—The London Times comments at length on the French proposition for mediation. It regards France as standing alone, and sees in the French proposition not only mediation but intervention, forcible removal of the blockade, and war. The Times agrees with Mr. Cobden, that England had better not plunge into a desperate war with the Northern States of America—war with all Europe at our backs, and doubts if Virginia belonged to France as Canada belongs to England, if the Emperor of the French would be so active in beating up recruits in this American mediation league.

MONDAY.—Visit Columbia, S. C. Legislature in session, and active canvass for Governor. Forty candidates. Among the rest, Preston, Manning, Boyce, Miles, Keitt, and Bonham. The last is late in the field and will probably win in the race, though Manning stands very high on the list.

Columbia is filled with refugees for Charleston. Prices enormously high. Board \$4 50 per day at Hotels. Shops scantily supplied. Paid \$4 25 per yard for flannels, and about the same for alpacas, worth in ordinary times 25 cents. Yet we save by the war in buying very little, and cutting off all luxuries. We save, too, the immense tribute formerly paid to the Yankees for their notions, and in other ways. Economy and frugality are the order of the day, and domestic industry. Families who lived in opulence, now driven from their homes in many cases, are huddled together in comfortless quarters, and cheerfully put up with the greatest privations.

The wheels of revolution roll on.

Col. Beall, 9th Virginia cavalry, made a splendid dash into Westmoreland County and captured 40 to 50 pickets. Enemy have occupied Fairfax and Warrenton.

In Seward's official letter of instructions for Dayton, the Yankee French Minister, dated April 22d, 1861, and which Mr. Seward says is written "by the direction of the President," referring to the rebellion, occurs the following passage:

"The condition of slavery in the several States will remain just the same, whether it succeed or fail. The rights of the States and the condition of every human being in them will remain subject to exactly the same laws and form of administration, whether the revo-

lution shall succeed or whether it shall fail. Their constitutions, and laws and customs, habits and institutions, in either case will remain the same. It is hardly necessary to add to this *INCONTTESTABLE STATEMENT* (!) the further fact that the new President, as well as the citizens through whose suffrages he has come into the administration, has always repudiated all designs whatever and wherever imputed to him and them, of *disturbing the system of slavery as it is existing under the Constitution and laws*. The case, however, would not be fully presented were I to omit to say that any such effort on his part would be *unconstitutional*, and all his acts in that direction would be prevented by the *JUDICIAL AUTHORITY*, even though they were assented to by Congress and the people."

So wrote Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, "by the direction" of Abraham Lincoln, President, little more than a month after his installment into office. What will European Governments now think of the "*incontestable statements*" of the Yankee President and his Premier?—and will they not reasonably ask why the "*Judicial authority*" so reverentially spoken of by the Premier, has not manifested itself?

TUESDAY.—Return to Winnsboro. Cars, as usual, crowded with soldiers. War has engendered in this class shocking and gross profanity, and the traveler must be content to hear the vilest language, go where he may. There is no escaping it. Thus war demoralizes. When shall we recover from its effects?

RETURNED PRISONERS.—The Yankee transport Metropolitan arrived above the point yesterday with about one thousand Confederate prisoners to be exchanged here. As usual, the treatment of these men by the Yankees was brutal and inhuman in the highest degree. At Louisville they were confined in a filthy prison infested with vermin, and from there they were sent to Cairo, where they were placed in a prison which had been occupied by negroes. On their way down they were kept on a crowded boat fifteen days without any comforts, or any means of cooking or providing for their wants. In addition to this, the Dutch Yankee guards on the boat were insulting and abusive, and actually bayoneted some of the prisoners and knocked down several with their muskets. This exposure caused much sickness among our men, and a number died during the passage.—*Vicksburg Citizen*.

WEDNESDAY, 10th Dec.—Enemy's train captured near Corinth.

Banks' expedition believed to have gone against Brunswick, Georgia.

Yankee War Office Reports fix their present army at 800,000 men, which, when the quotas are filled, will reach 1,000,000. Against this we cannot set off more than 500,000 as things look at present, though the Conscrip Act should have given us a million, or near it. These Acts are feebly enforced, and are easily evaded. Probably, how-

ever, the Yankees over-estimate their numbers.

RICHMOND, December 9.—An official dispatch has been received from General Bragg, at the Adjutant-General's office, announcing the gratifying intelligence that Gen. Jack Morgan attacked an outpost of the enemy at Hartsville, on the Cumberland, capturing about 1,800 of the enemy, two pieces of artillery, 2,000 small arms, and a quantity of stores, besides killing and wounding 200 of the enemy. The Confederate loss was not over 125.

A SPECIAL dispatch to the *Advertiser* and *Register*, dated Murfreesboro, 8th, says Morgan's command surprised a portion of Rousseau's division, yesterday, near Harrisville, fifteen miles north-east of Lebanon, and after a sharp conflict, captured 1,400 of the Abolitionists, six pieces of artillery, 1,500 stand of arms, their wagon train and camp equipments. A large number of the enemy were killed and wounded. Our loss was considerable.

The weather is clear, and freezing hard.

GEN. LOVELL has defeated and driven back the enemy at Coffeeville, killing and wounding a large number, and capturing thirty-five prisoners. Our loss was eight killed and forty-two wounded. Lovell brought the entire train and his corps safely to Grenada. The *Advertiser* says the advance of the enemy South, on both sides of Abbeville, has been made necessary, for Pemberton will withdraw his whole force to Grenada, thus preventing the Yankees from gaining his flank and rear. Lovell was left to check the advance of the enemy's column.

BATON ROUGE, November 29.—Yesterday evening, about 4 o'clock, the steamer *Lone Star*, an Abolition boat from New Orleans, landed about two miles below Plaquemine, for sugar. Our cavalry attacked her, when she crossed the river to this side, and was again attacked by Captain Stockdale's cavalry, who captured her and her crew, and burned the boat. The prisoners, ten in number, are now here.

THURSDAY.—Rumored that French bearers of dispatches have reached Richmond, and also that the new Yankee Ram, on the plan of the Monitor, and on which so much was counted, is an entire failure, and nearly foundered at sea. She is named the *Passaic*.

Legislature of Alabama has assumed the State's ratio of the public debt. The same was agreed upon in the South Carolina Assembly, and it is believed will be adopted by all the States. This will give higher character to our securities, even in Europe. They are said to be rising every day there. Our war debt already reaches at least \$600,000,000.

FRIDAY.—The fight has at last opened upon the Rappahannock, and was progressing at the last report. The enemy, in their attempt to cross, was repulsed at two points, but was proba-

bly successful at the third. We may expect to hear of a general action.

News from Nassau that Yankees have sent from the South cargoes of negroes to Cuba for sale.

The New York *Herald* thus, for the hundredth time, speaks confidently of Federal successes in prospective. It says:

The gun-boat flotilla of Admiral Porter, with the cooperating army of McClelland, will move down the Mississippi river together, and will follow the rebel forces of Bragg, Pemberton and others, and as the powerful and victorious armies of Rosencranz and Grant will advance, we may expect to hear of the rout and dispersion of the last remaining rebel armies of the West at any moment, and the capture of Vicksburg and Mobile. With these grand results achieved, East and West, the conquest of the remaining strongholds of the rebellion will be so easy that, excepting Charleston, we may expect them to fall without serious result.

SATURDAY.—Yankees shelled Port Royal, Va., without notice to women and children, who were driven to the woods.

At six last evening they were reported as crossing the Rappahannock. They will not long enjoy the protection given by their gunboats, and a general engagement may be momentarily expected.

Gallant action of North Carolina troops at Plymouth, N. C. Said that McCook will supersede Rosencranz in the West.

President Davis is on a visit to the West, and was serenaded at Chattanooga. Purport of the visit not known. Evidence that Richmond is not regarded in danger.

THE DESPOT.—The editor of the Chicago *Post* recently visited Washington. He thus writes to his journal of the protection of Lincoln from the danger of assassination:

"We saw him leave the building once, and though the sight may be witnessed every day, it was of a character too wretched to invite a second visit. We saw him leave on Sunday afternoon, and the manner was as follows:

"About half-past five in the afternoon a mounted guard numbering some thirty or more troopers, all armed with drawn sabres, extensive spears, dangling and rattling scabbards, fierce beards, and revolvers stuck in their holsters, dashed furiously through the streets and entered the ground north of the President's house. At the steps in front of the door, and under the archway, was a carriage. The officer, or one of the officers of the mounted guard, alighted and entered the house. In about ten minutes he appeared at the door, and giving the signal, the carriage door was opened, the guards put themselves in martial attitudes, commands were given, and the President appeared with a portfolio under his arm, and, with one or more soldiers at each side,

walked rapidly to the carriage and entered it. Two officers jumped in also, the door was slammed, the guard galloped into position, and the carriage, containing the President of the United States, was driven, preceded by troopers, followed by troopers. At a very rapid pace the party left the ground, and upon reaching the avenue proceeded at a hard gallop out at Fourteenth street.

SUNDAY.—Though numbers of the enemy were killed or captured in crossing the Rappahannock, the passage was finally effected and Fredericksburg occupied. Citizens evacuated the town, and many houses and public buildings were destroyed by the enemy.

Skirmishing was going on at the latest intelligence.

Fords of the Blackwater river (Va.) carried by the enemy, and a general attack along the whole line of the river is momentarily expected.

1,500 bales of cotton belonging to the Yankees was burned by our scouts near Corinth, Miss.

Our forces under Kirby Smith, Hardee, Morgan, etc., advancing upon Nashville. The city, it is thought, will be invested on all sides, in the hope of drawing out Rosencranz from its intrenchments.

The New York Times publishes several columns of dispatches from Seward to Minister Adams, sent at different periods during the year. In several of these dispatches, intended for foreign effect, he argues to show that the Administration is hostile to the institution of slavery.

In a dispatch dated July 28th, he says: "We will induce or oblige our slaveholding citizens to supply Europe with cotton, if we can, and the President has given respectful consideration to the desire informally expressed to me by the Governments of Great Britain and France for some further relaxations of the blockade in favor of the cotton trade. An answer will be reasonably given."

He closes by saying: "That this Government relies upon the respect of our sovereignty by foreign powers, and if this reliance fails this civil war will, without our fault, become a war of continents, a war of the world, and whatever else may survive, the cotton trade, built upon slave labor in this country, will be irredeemably wrecked on the abrupt cessation of human bondage within the territories of the United States."

MONDAY, December 15, 1862.—Having made all arrangements, leave Winnsboro with family at 2 p. m. We have been treated with great courtesy and kindness here.

Cars much crowded, and in the hurry of changing them, all of our baggage is left.

Many trains filled with soldiers pass

us on their way from Charleston to North Carolina.

Much anxiety in regard to affairs on the Rappahannock.

TUESDAY.—Reach Charleston at 8 a. m. Thousands of people are returning to the city, in the full faith that it cannot be taken. Families begin to re-occupy their houses.

Federal headquarters advanced to Oxford, Miss.

Gen. Lee and Evans telegraph as follows:

"To Gen. S. Cooper:—At nine o'clock Saturday morning the enemy attacked our right wing, and as the fog lifted the battle ran along the line, from right to left, until six p. m., the enemy being repulsed at all points—thanks be to God. As usual we have to mourn the loss of many brave men. I expect the battle to be renewed to-morrow morning.

(Signed)

R. E. LEE."

"To Gen. S. Cooper:—Gen. Foster attacked Kinston yesterday with fifteen thousand men and nine gunboats. I fought him for ten hours, and have driven him back to his gunboats. His army is still in my front.

(Signed)

N. G. EVANS."

Our loss at the Rappahannock estimated at 2,000 killed and wounded—the enemy's being many times greater. Gen. Gregg and T. R. Cobb were killed—the former a heavy loss to the Confederacy.

Affairs in Mississippi.—It appears by a correspondent of the Jackson *Mississippian* that our forces under the veteran General Price have fallen back from Abbeville, as he speaks of the army being in Grenada on the 5th. The men were well clad, well shod, and in fine spirits—making the welkin ring with "Missouri Land." There was a brisk fight at Oakland, on the Mississippi and Tennessee Railroad, on the 3d instant, in which the Texas troops displayed their characteristic bravery, driving back the enemy and capturing two pieces of artillery, although opposed by a large force. Oxford was the scene of a fierce cavalry combat on the 4th, in which Ballentine's cavalry did noble service. They held a position six hours, fighting as infantry, against an infantry force sent to support the Yankee cavalry, losing some fifty in killed and wounded in the affair. The affair at Coffeeville was a brilliant Confederate victory. The enemy was whipped and driven back four miles, and their battery and about thirty prisoners captured.

WEDNESDAY.—Remain in Charleston. Visit the South Bay (Battery) fortifications, which will be formidable, but which are yet without guns. Visit also one of the iron-clads. She is an excellent vessel, under good management, and mounts five or six very heavy guns. Her speed, however, is insufficient. There is another similar ves-

sel already finished, and two or three more on the stocks. They will contribute largely to the defence of the city.

The fortifications in the harbor, which we examine through a glass, are complete and formidable, and will present an almost impassable barrier to the invader. It is an experiment, however, after all, as we cannot tell the strength and capacities of the sea monster which the Yankees are preparing for this enterprise.

General Evans having fought the Yankees, who outnumbered him three to one all day, fell back from Kinston, N. C., which was immediately occupied, the town having been furiously shelled during the engagement.

But a small part of Fredericksburg was injured by the bombardment. The Yankees are said to have lost six thousand killed and wounded, and 1,500 taken prisoners. Burnside's army is reported mutinous, and officers and men to have refused a renewed attack upon our batteries. He is believed to have fallen back.

General Hindman reported to have defeated the Yankees in a severe battle near Fayetteville, Ark.

THURSDAY.—Visit the salt works which are to be found on nearly all the wharves in Charleston.

Yankee cavalry raid on the Wilmington and Weldon railroad, which they somewhat damage. It produces intense excitement.

Our army heavily reinforced at Goldsboro, and Gen. Gustavus Smith has taken command.

Abolition raid on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. Much damage done at Tupelo, Saitillo and Okolona. We evacuate the road as far South as Egypt.

A Yankee ram was destroyed on the Yazoo river by one of our torpedoes. It is a glorious and significant fact.

FRIDAY, December 19th.—Have an interview with General Beauregard. He is very hopeful and enthusiastic. Can hold Charleston against all odds, but has not much confidence in the obstructions. The vessels may pass in, but he will be well prepared for them, and the city will never surrender. The General does not expect to be attacked before the 1st of February, and is making active preparations.

Yankee newspapers are in despair over their repulse at Fredericksburg. They have retired after pillaging the town. They admit a loss of from ten to twenty thousand, which is more than our highest hopes. They had several Generals killed and wounded.

Our people wear brighter faces everywhere, and hopes of peace grow stronger every day.

Two steamers with arms, ammunition and supplies have reached Charleston and Wilmington within the last 48 hours, and others are hourly expected. Many heavy and swift steamships are prepared to run the blockade, and we shall soon have every military want supplied.

SATURDAY.—Leave at daylight with family for the West, having been detained several days at Charleston, waiting the arrival of baggage.

Reported that the Yankees are evacuating Nashville.

The damage on the Wilmington and Weldon road proves to be very slight, and will only interrupt communication a few days. The Yankees have retired in great fright. Nearly all who were concerned in destroying the bridges are said to have been killed.

A NORTHERN PROTEST AGAINST THE ATROCITIES OF THE LINCOLN GOVERNMENT.—Says the *Chicago Times*, "The New York Tribune has recently given the public a detailed account of an expedition of negroes in Georgia and Florida, commanded by officers of the navy and army, whose acts of pillage and arson would compare very favorably with the atrocities of the Indians in Minnesota. The account has been generally copied by the Abolition press, and accompanied with comments seeking to prove the value of negroes as soldiers. The report made by the correspondent accompanying the expedition is sufficient to make infamous every person, except the negroes, who had any command or responsibility in the business. It was such a foray as was made by Scottish clans in English borders before the days of Wallace and Bruce. It was an expedition such as has characterized the marches of English armies in India. It was similar in character to the robberies and devastation which have followed the march of guerrillas in Missouri. It was an expedition of slaves enticed from their masters, and incited to rob and burn. There can be no justification in such warfare. The administration which permits it, and the officers who conduct it, are earning a de-

testable notoriety. Negroes were stolen, houses were plundered, plantations were reduced to ruin, and the pious priest who joined the foray and details its enormities rejoices in the destruction. One of the female philanthropists located at Port Royal, impressed with the idea that the priest was incapable of doing the subject justice, takes the pencil to polish the picture. French, the schoolmaster of negroes and abolition stipendiary, and his female associate, have exhausted their descriptive powers in accounts of this raid upon peaceable inhabitants, made by stolen negroes, and commanded by Government officers. If we are a Christian nation and amenable to the laws recognized by enlightened and Christian governments, it is nearly time that robbery, murder, and arson should cease in the conduct of this war.

SUNDAY, 21.—Pass several cars on the road which were destroyed last night, and learn that many soldiers were seriously wounded. Railroad accidents are now of daily occurrence. It is frightfully insecure to travel. Track, engines and cars are all dilapidated, and no time for repairs, and no material to repair with. One is safer on the battle-field. We may expect to hear of frightful disasters frequently. Not running stock, in sound condition, to supply half the demand. Cars, too, in dreadful condition, always crowded to suffocation. No through tickets, and frequently no schedules. Confusion all the time. Thieves ever on the alert, and are off with your baggage in a moment. Carpet-bag broken open, and a valuable pistol stolen. Complaints general. Thus war demoralizes and disorganizes. Pandemonium.

MONDAY, 22.—Most of the day at Montgomery. Place crowded, and can obtain no accommodations. Leave at 5 P. M., on steamer for Selma.

Our loss in the recent battle in Arkansas is given at 750. We took 30 wagons loaded with clothing, 4 stand of colors and 800 prisoners. General Greene and Col. Clarke and Pleasants killed. Yankee loss over 1000. 1500 of their cavalry are cut off from the main body and may be captured.

Northern journals express the greatest wonder and astonishment over their defeat at Fredericksburg. They cannot comprehend it.

GENERAL LEE'S OFFICIAL REPORT.—The official report of General Lee was received in Richmond on Tuesday;

HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VA., }
December 14th, 1862. }

To the Hon. Secretary of War, Richmond, Va.:

Sir—On the night of the 10th inst. the enemy commenced to throw three bridges over the Rappahannock—two at Fredericksburg, and the third about a mile and a quarter below, near the mouth of Deep Run.

The plain on which Fredericksburg stands is so completely commanded by the hills of Stafford, in possession of the enemy, that no effectual opposition could be offered to the construction of the bridges or the passage of the river, without exposing our troops to the destructive fire of his numerous batteries. Positions were, therefore, selected to oppose his advance after crossing. The narrowness of the Rappahannock, its winding course, and deep bed, afforded opportunity for the construction of bridges at points beyond the reach of our artillery, and the banks had to be watched by skirmishers. The latter, sheltering themselves behind the houses, drove back the working parties of the enemy at the bridges opposite the city, but at the lowest point of crossing, where no shelter could be had, our sharpshooters were themselves driven off, and the completion of the bridge was effected about noon on the 11th.

In the afternoon of that day the enemy's batteries opened upon the city, and by dark had so demolished the houses on the river bank as to deprive our skirmishers of shelter—and, under cover of his guns, he effected a lodgment in the town.

The troops which had so gallantly held their position in the city, under the severe cannonade during the day, resisting the advance of the enemy at every step, were withdrawn during the night, as were also those who, with equal tenacity, had maintained their post at the lowest bridge. Under cover of darkness and of a dense fog, on the 12th, a large force passed the river and took position on the right bank, protected by their heavy guns on the left.

The morning of the 13th, his arrangements for attack being completed, about 9 o'clock—the movement veiled by a fog—he advanced boldly in large force against our right wing. Gen. Jackson's corps occupied the right of our line, which rested on the railroad; Gen. Longstreet's the left, extending along the heights to the Rappahannock above Fredericksburg. Gen. Stuart, with two brigades of cavalry, was posted in the extensive plain on our extreme right.

As soon as the advance of the enemy was discovered through the fog, Gen. Stuart, with his accustomed prompt-

ness, moved up a section of his horse artillery, which opened with effect upon his flank, and drew upon the gallant Pelham a heavy fire, which he sustained unflinchingly for about two hours. In the mean time the enemy was fiercely encountered by General A. P. Hill's division, forming Gen. Jackson's right; and, after an obstinate combat, repulsed. During this attack, which was protracted and hotly contested, two of General Hill's brigades were driven back upon our second line.

Gen. Early, with part of his division, being ordered to his support, drove the enemy back from the point of woods he had seized, and pursued him into the plain until arrested by his artillery. The right of the enemy's column extending beyond Hill's front, encountered the right of General Hood, of Longstreet's corps. The enemy took possession of a small copse in front of Hood, but were quickly dispossessed and repulsed with loss.

During the attack on our right the enemy was crossing troops over his bridges at Fredericksburg, and massing them in front of Longstreet's lines. Soon after his repulse on our right he commenced a series of attacks on our left, with a view of obtaining possession of the heights immediately overlooking the town. These repeated attacks were repulsed in gallant style by the Washington Artillery, under Col. Walton, and a portion of McLaw's division, which occupied these heights.

The last assault was made after dark, when Col. Alexander's battalion had relieved the Washington Artillery, (whose ammunition had been exhausted,) and ended the contest for the day. The enemy was supported in his attacks by the fire of strong batteries of artillery on the right bank of the river, as well as by the numerous heavy batteries on the Stafford heights.

Our loss during the operations, since the movements of the enemy began, amounts to about 1,800 killed and wounded. Among the former I regret to report the death of the patriotic soldier and statesman, Brigadier-General Thomas R. R. Cobb, who fell upon our left; and among the latter, that brave soldier and accomplished gentleman, Brigadier-General Maxey Gregg, who was very seriously, and, it is feared, mortally wounded, during the attack on our right.

The enemy to-day has been apparently engaged in caring for his wounded and burying his dead. His troops are visible in their first position in line of battle, but, with the exception of some desultory cannonading and firing between skirmishers, he has not attempted to renew the attack. About five hundred and fifty prisoners were taken during the engage-

ment, but the full extent of his loss is unknown.

I have the honor to be.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

[Official.] R. E. LEE, General.
CHARLES MARSHALL, Maj. and A. D. C.

PRODUCE LOAN OFFICE.—NOTE.

It has been deemed best to postpone our voluminous notes upon the Journal until its close, when they will be given chapter by chapter, so as not to disturb the order of the original record, or to impede its early publication. There is one point, however, in reference to our connection with the Produce Loan Office, adverted to in the September number, which might as well be made here. Mr. Jones in his "Diary of a Rebel War Clerk," makes a note that we were "offered a clerkship by Mr. Memminger and spurned it," and that our "Produce Loan Office was taken away for alleged irregularities of some sort." He is in error in both instances. There was no clerkship offered. The position tendered *was* accepted and held for half a year without salary. Mr. Memminger did not "offer," because he said he knew that we "could not accept a clerkship," but indicated that the "Assistant Secretaryship or Treasurership" were appropriate. Nor was our office "taken away" at any time or for any reason. Near the close of the war its duties were divided, as they had been divided in other States, and those which pertained to the questions of tithe, and the custody and sale of Bonds, involves the most confidential trusts, and many millions of dollars were left in our hands. The Secretary in making the change said in his letter of July 18, 1864, "he had concluded to make a division of the duties of the office," and Aug. 23, the new Secretary, Mr. Trenholm, wrote "the confidence hitherto reposed in you by the Department is unchanged," and Nov. 17 sent us a commission in addition to our other duties, to "visit the several States and report upon the condition of Government cotton, and the best mode of preserving it." After the war was over, Oct. 8, 1865, Mr. Roane, who was at the head of the Department at Richmond, wrote that "all of our reports and vouchers

had passed through his hands, and evinced a fair and just administration of the office, and that we enjoyed the confidence of the President and Secretary of the Treasury to the very last." Mr. Clapp, who took charge of a portion of our duties, when the division was made, was instructed to carry out the identical policy we had been pursuing, and against which some complaints had been made by the people of Mississippi, and after having turned over to him all the papers and documents which related to those matters, it affords us great pleasure to receive a letter from him, Nov. 11, 1865, in which he acknowledges that not in the minutest particular was there any irregularity discovered. Col. Baskerville, who had been our chief assistant and manager, was retained by Mr. Clapp in the most important relations.

Having said this much for Mr. Jones' remarks—more than we had intended at first, or their nature ought to have warranted—we will add that it was natural that imputations should have been cast upon our office, charged with

such indefinite and delicate duties, although these imputations were only against subordinates employed at distant points. Mr. Trenholm appreciated this when he said in his letter of Aug. 23, (acknowledging the receipt of a large amount in sterling), "it is easy to perceive how the negotiations by which this has been effected may have caused popular dissatisfaction and exposed the agents of the Government to unmerited reproach." We replied to him, Sept. 13, reviewing some of the allegations which had come from the War Department, in regard to one of our subordinates, which was in exact keeping with every similar allegation.

"Only to think of it Mr. Secretary. The Domine Samson alleges that he has stolen 4,000 bales of cotton, when the records of this office show that at the time of his appointment there were not 500 bales of Government cotton in the whole sphere of his operations, which might have been spirited away, and of these, two-thirds of that quantity are now known to be there. Prodigious!"

EDITORIAL NOTES, ETC.

WE are indebted to HARPER & BROTHERS, New York, for a very handsomely printed and bound volume, entitled *Battle Pieces and Aspects of the War*, embracing a collection of fugitive pieces written during the conflict, by Herman Melville. The writer, though he gave in to the general sentiment of the North in regard to the necessity of "crushing out the rebellion" by any and all means, seems often to have had a secret misgiving, as to whether much that was done, was in reality justified by the laws of humanity which rise higher than those of war. Hence, when the conflict is over he ranges himself on the side of the Conservatives and peace. The lines entitled "Lee in the Capital," evidence this mind. He makes the hero say without disapproval:

"These noble spirits are yet yours to win.
Shall the great North go Sylla's way?
Proscribe—prolong the evil day?
Confirm the curse? Infix the hate?"

In Union's name forever alienate?
Unless you shun
To copy Europe in her worst estate—
Avoid the tyranny you reprobate."

The same publishers send us "*English Travelers and Italian Brigands*," which is a narrative of captivity and capture, and is illustrated with maps. The author, on a visit to Southern Italy in the Spring of 1865, was taken prisoner by the brigands who infest the country, and held during a long time by them in expectation of ransom. He furnishes the most interesting material in regard to the mode of life, manners, institutions, etc., of that extraordinary brotherhood—a brotherhood who defy the law and its ministers, and keep up many of the forms of government among themselves. The work is exceedingly interesting, and approaches to the nature almost of romance.

FROM D. APPLETON & Co. we receive—

1. *The Office of the Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer*, a series of lectures by the Rev. E. M. Goulburn, D. D. The author, who is one of Her Majesty's chaplains, endeavors to maintain "that our Lord's body and blood are verily and indeed, and not merely a figure taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper, though after a heavenly and spiritual manner." He has written several other works published by the same house, viz., "Thoughts on Personal Religion," "An Introduction to the Devotional Study of the Scriptures," "An Idle Word," "Sermons Preached on Various Occasions," etc.

2. *A Grammatical Analyzer*, by W. I. Tenney. This is one of Appleton's excellent series of school books. The object of the author is to make students acquainted with the principles upon which our language is formed, render them ready in the use of words, and familiar with their signification and grammatical classification and adepts in spelling.

3. *Frederick the Great and his Court*; an Historical Romance, by L. Mulbach. Translated from the German by Mrs. Chapman and her daughters.

Those who have read the admirable novel of "Joseph II. and his Court," and the number is very great, will be the first to seize upon this new work from the same author and read it with avidity. It is one of the most interesting productions of the day.

The publishers, E. B. Treat & Co., New York, deposit upon our desk a copy of Mr. Pollard's well known work entitled *The Lost Cause*. This is a new edition in one large volume, brought down to the date of the surrender, and embracing much recent material. The original edition was published from year to year during the conflict, and gave the Southern view of it from records only accessible to our own people. Mr. Pollard had many advantages in this respect, and although we do not agree with him in many of his strictures upon men and measures, his work is undoubtedly an able and val-

uable one, and should be in every Southern household.

It is sold only by subscription, contains many illustrations, and is handsomely published.

Diuturnity; or, the comparative age of the world; showing that the human race is in the infancy of its being, and demonstrating a reasonable and rational world and its immense future duration. This little volume is from the pen of the Rev. R. Abbey, and is published by Applegate & Co., of Cincinnati. The author is well known to the Methodist world, and proves himself to be a profound and original thinker. We have not the opportunity now to examine his views, but shall do so hereafter. It is a strong testimony in their favor that the *New York Methodist* says:

"The author of this work and Sir Charles Lyell, stand at the opposite poles of thought—one maintaining for man an immense antiquity, the other that he is in the infancy of his being. On the hypothesis that the human race is in its infancy, Mr. Abbey, by a fine course of analogical reasoning, proceeds to demonstrate that there is an immense earthly career before it.

"In setting forth his views, new in many respects, no ordinary ability is displayed. The author is evidently a thinker, and his book is calculated to awaken reflection. It commences well the great battle that must be fought against the extravagant theories of the antiquity of man and the globe. To those holding the good old Biblical views upon the subject, this book will be hailed with real pleasure. Its blows are heavy from their side of the question. In the former part of the treatise, one is reminded of the cogent reasoning of Butler in his immortal Analogy. The argument for the infancy of the world is based upon the infinite wisdom and goodness of the Creator. His purpose, ends, designs, have as yet been but meagerly fulfilled. The author enters upon an extensive induction of nature to prove this. There is, he maintains, 'a vast amount of undiscovered nature.' Science is yet infantile; the age of discovery has hardly commenced. In medicine, in agriculture, in mechanic arts, jurisprudence, government, education, etc., all are in a crude beginning state. This process of reasoning is applied to the intellectual aspects of the world, and then in turn to its religious phases. Religion as yet has hardly had a commencement. Religious progress has been marked, so far, by irregularity. There have been remarkable successes, but also great failures. In a diuturnity view, this is not irrational, since a day has hardly yet passed in the great lifetime of our world."

The author, Edward McPherson, Washington City, sends us "*A Political Man-*

ual for 1866," 132 pages, price \$1, free of postage. He says:

I have, at the request of gentlemen of every shade of opinion who feel the need of a reliable Volume containing the more important Political data of this Period, prepared for use in the campaign, a *Political Manual for 1866*, beginning with President Johnson's accession, April 15, 1865, and extending to July 4, 1866. It contains the action of persons and parties, on pending questions, COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES; and includes Messages, Proclamations, Orders, Telegrams, Bills, Speeches, Propositions, Votes, Laws, Statistical Tables, and other facts necessary to make the Record complete.

We have received from A. B. Demarest, Esq., 119 Broadway, of New York, three exquisitely finished works of art, in ebony oval frames, representing Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. We have seen nothing to compare with them in finish and beauty. They are in medalion style, raised from the surface, and are fabricated from some composition of silvery whiteness, and are entirely new in the field of art. We have seen nothing to compare with them, and as they are furnished at a moderate price, we hope to see them before long adorning all the parlors of the South.

Magnificent manufacturing establishments have recently been opened in New York on Broadway and under the Metropolitan Hotel by Messrs. Wm. Gale, Jr., and Brown & Spaulding. The first named in sterling silver and plated-ware, and the latter in jewelry, parlor statuary and bronzes. These two houses, we are sure, can exhibit some of the most beautifully manufactured articles to be found in the United States. Such establishments are truly embellishments to the great metropolis.

Now that it is evident enough that the South has little or nothing to expect from the tender dealings of the radicals of the North, and that no reaction is promised from that quarter, it would be as well for us to abandon all interest in politics and betake ourselves to the development of the wealth and resources of the country. Had we arrived at this conclusion long ago, what a magnificent region would

have been ours? What precious intellect and energy have been spent unavailingly upon State matters, which, if given to enterprise and development, would have made our country the most prosperous and wealthy in the world. Now is the time to strike! What a field opens for mining, manufactures, foreign commerce, internal improvements and arts. We may people our country, and gain strength for the future. This was the advice given by Dr. Franklin, long before the old war, when it was discovered that no hope remained from the English ministry. "Light up the torches of industry" said he. *We repeat the words.* And just here, let us make a remark which is in a small degree personal. We are toiling in this field against a thousand difficulties and embarrassments, and yet, how few of the many thousand Southerners, who are so deeply interested, gives us that tangible welcome which comes in the shape of greenbacks to reimburse our heavy outlay. Of the thousands of dollars due us on old account, how paltry are the remittances. The expenses of the REVIEW, are three times what they were in former days! Even the most trifling sums are gratefully received. We know, and make all allowance for the necessities of the country, but there are numbers who by a very small effort, or sacrifice, might aid us in this contingency. Will they not do so? *Send anything on the old or new account, and make an effort to forward us a club of new subscribers.* We solicit, too, the kindly offices of the press. Our Exchange list is heavy, and we hope to make it the basis of circulation. A word from any of these editors, acknowledging the receipt of a number, referring to the title of its articles, etc., is a service highly prized and pregnant with benefit; and yet how often is it overlooked in the crowd of other matters? We do not complain. It would be unreasonable in us to do so, in view of the innumerable favors we have received in the past. We are all alike interested in the development of our great, but now afflicted South. *Our pages are open to every enterprise, and through them, all may find a ready utterance.*

We thank Mr. Gribble of New Orleans, for a copy of his cotton circular, and will make use of it in our next. It is worthy of note, that all of the recent estimates of the coming crop are greatly reduced from earlier figures, and there can be little doubt that the crop will be very much under 1,500,000 bales, which has hitherto been our estimate.

An interesting paper will appear in our next from the pen of Major L. Dubois, of Charleston, on claims of the modern languages to be introduced into our colleges and universities. We entirely concur in the reasonings of the writer, and would like to see the reform he urges introduced at an early day.

REVIEW ADVERTISING INDEX.

ALL advertisements in the Review will be regularly noted in this Index. Our terms are the same as before the war, and considering the large circulation of the Review in every part of the Union, and especially in the Southern States, its limits should be occupied. Merchants and manufacturers of the South, and those having lands for sale, would do well to imitate in advertising the enterprise of Northern cities. Our pages are open to all, and it is from this source only that the Review can be made remunerative.

Agricultural Implements.—Machinery, etc.—R. H. Allen & Co.; Daniel Pratt; Pitkin, Ward & Co.; Emery Brothers; W. G. Clemons, Brown & Co.; E. G. Blatherwick.
Books, Bibles, etc.—James Potts; John P. Morton & Co.; Richardson & Co.
Boots and Shoes.—John Slater.
Bankers and Exchange.—Duncan, Sherman & Co. C. W. Parell & Co.; E. Q. Bell; Lockwood & Co.; Connor & Wilson; Bruce & Co.
Brokers.—Gold and Silver, Real Estate, etc.; Morgan McCloud, Murphy & Cash.
Charleston, S. C., Directory.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Directory.
Cards.—Cotton and Wool; Jno. H. Haskell.
Cotton Factors.—Crews, Wilson, Bradford & Co.
Coppersmiths, Engineers, etc.—Thomas Gannon, J. Wyatt Reid.
Clothing, Shirts, &c.—S. N. Moody; Henry Moore & Gontung.
Collection and Commission Merchants.—Taylor, McEwen and Blew.

Dry Goods.—Butler, Broom & Clapp.
Druggist.—S. Mansfield & Co. Jas. Gonegal.
Emigration Companies.—John Williams.
Engravers, etc.—Ferd. Meyer & Co.; J. W. Orr.
Eyes.—Dr. Foote.
Express Companies.—Southern.
Fertilizers, etc.—John S. Reese & Co.; Allen & Needles; Raugh & Sons; Graham, Emlen & Passmore; Tasker and Clark.
Fancy Goods.—J. M. Bowen & Co.
Fire Arms.—B. Kitbridge & Co.
Fire Bricks.—Maurer & Weber.
Garden Seeds, etc.—D. Landreth & Sons.
Grocers.—Baskerville, Sherman & Co.
Hotels.—Exchange Hotel, Burnet House.
Hardware, etc.—G. Wolfe Bruce; C. H. Slocumb; Choate & Co.; Orgill, Bros. & Co.; E. Robbins & Bradley.
Insurance Companies.—Aetna; Accidental; State, Nashville.
Iron Railings, etc.—Robert Wood & Co.; W. P. Hood.
Iron Safes.—Horring & Co.
Jewelry, etc.—Tiffany & Co.; Ball, Black & Co.
Lawyers.—Ward & Jones; H. C. Myers.
Liquors.—L. L. Burrell & Co.
Loan Agency.—Department Business, etc.—National Bank of Metropolis.
Machinery, Steam Engines, Saw Mills, Carding, Spinning and Weaving, etc.—Bridestown Manufacturing Company, Jacob B. Schenck; Poole & Hunt; Smith & Sayre; Jas. A. Robinson; Geo. Page & Co.; Edmund M. Ivens; Lane & Bodley; Joseph Harrison, Jr.; J. E. Stevenson. J. H. Duval; Wood & Mann.
Mill Stones.—J. Bradford & Co.
Military Equipments.—J. M. Migeod & Son.
Medicines, etc.—Brandreth's; Dr. W. B. Merwin; Radway & Co.; Tarrant & Co.
Musical Instruments.—F. Ziegbaum & Fairchild; Sonntag & Beggs.
Masonic Emblems.—B. T. Hayward.
Nurseries.—Eltwanger & Barry.
Organs.—Parlor, etc.—Pelouzel, Pelton & Co.
Paint, etc.—Pecora Lead and Color Company.
Patent Limbs.—W. Solpho & Son.
Pens.—R. Esterbrook & Co.; Stimpson.
Perfumers.—C. T. Lodge.
Pianos.—W. Knabe & Co.; Stodard.
Photographers.—Brady; Hall.
Rope.—J. T. Douglas.
Scales.—Fairbanks & Co.
Straw Goods.—Bostwick, Sabin & Clark.
Steamships.—James Connolly & Co.; Livingston, Fox & Co.
Stationers.—Francis & Loutrel; E. R. Wagener.
Soap, Starch, etc.—B. T. Babbit.
Southern Bitters, etc.—C. H. Ebbert & Co.
Sewing Machines.—Singer & Co.; Finkle & Lyon.
Steel.—Sanderson Brothers & Co.
Silver and Plated Ware.—Windle & Co.; Wm. Wilson & Son. W. Gale, Jr.
Tobacco Dealers, etc.—Dohan, Carroll & Co.
Tin Ware.—S. J. Hare & Co.; J. B. Duval & Son.
Tailors.—Derby & Co.; Harlem & Co.
Universities and Law Schools.
Wire Work Railings, etc.—M. Walker & Sons.
Washing Machines and Wringers and Mangies.—R. C. Browning; Jno. Ward & Co.; Oakley & Keating. Robt Duncan.